

INSIDE: The Great One Says Goodbye

Maclean's

AUGUST 22, 1988

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE



THE SCENT OF FREEDOM

On The 20th
Anniversary Of The
Invasion Of Prague,
The Winds Of
Change Are Stirring
Eastern Europe



Reformist
Hungarian Leader
Károly Grósz

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AUGUST 22, 1954, VOL. 304, NO. 38

COVER

The scent of freedom

Twenty years after tanks and troops from the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies crushed the reform movement in Czechoslovakia, many of the Eastern Bloc's 115 million people are yearning the promise of more freedom as a result of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's summons for change. —Diane D.

СОВЕТ РЕДАКТОРІВ: А.І.ДУБІЛЬ, І.І.ДУБІЛЬ, І.І.ДУБІЛЬ



Canada's ceasefire makes

Advance teams of Canadian soldiers flew to Iran and Iraq late last week as part of a 24-airman TV observation force investigating a truck in the Bloody Butterfield affair. — *Peter B.*



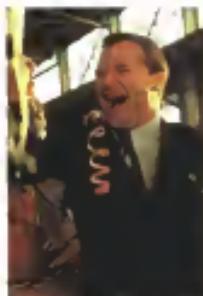
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Gretzky becomes a King

last week, is one of the biggest deals in sports history. Canada lost its national hero after Peter Park Brugman traded Wayne Gretzky to the Los Angeles Kings. — Page 38



Recalling the dream car

In *Tucker*, starring Jeff Bridges, director Francis Ford Coppola has turned a childhood memory of a maniacal automobile visionary into a cinematic fable. —Page 45

Car trouble

I found that your cover package "Car wars" (Aug. 1) glossed over some important points in my hurry to glorify the North American car industry. It mentions that "by 2001, the industry will be producing five million more cars and trucks than there are buyers for them." Car manufacturers are helping the land in their quest for new materials; our graveyards are filled to the brim with yesterday's hot rods and the price of gasoline continues to climb while its long-term availability is questionable. Yet, the industry, in 48 years after the almighty dollar, is going to create a five-million-car girl? Think about it.

—GORDON WILLIAMSON,
Calgary

An insatiable situation

Your article on Bill C-72, which amended the Official Languages Act ("Molson takes charge," *Canada*, July 18), provided an explanation why nine members of Parliament voted against the Bill. French-phrases are exclusively being hired and promoted in the public service, while English-speaking Canadians are denied career opportunities and are therefore being discriminated against. No action, however, has been taken to correct this insurmountable situation.

—DAN HEDRICK,
Member of Parliament,
—

Charting political waters

The House of Commons leases to both the Senate any time the upper chamber needs up, and may advise the Senate of



Cars: glamorizing the industry

PASSAGES

DEER Popular singer and songwriter Jimmie Lee "Jimmie" Lee Leckie, 34, whose ease and personal independence punctuated a generation of Quebecers of a heart attack at his home in L'Orignal, Que., home. The gravel-voiced performer, who accompanied himself on the guitar, first achieved success as a performer in France in the early 1960s. For 20 years, he divided his time between France and Quebec, but he returned home permanently in 1970. Just before the October Crisis, which, he said, "opened my eyes," as a result, Quebec independence became a major theme in his work, along with love and fellowship. In 1980, he publicly supported the lasting separation of Quebec from Canada in the Quebec referendum on sovereignty-association.

APPEALING: Balbir Singh Roy, 57, London's squatgest's under surveillance here to Canada, where he is wanted for eight charges in connection with the Jan. 22, 1985, bomb explosion at Tokyo's Yodobashi 1000, which killed two Japanese baggage handlers. Roy, who says he is innocent, is a former resident of Duncan, B.C., where Canadian officials allege that he assembled the bomb that was placed aboard a CP Air jet on Jan. 20, 1984, before it left Tokyo. On the same day as the Narita bomb blast, an Air India flight from Canada exploded in the South Atlantic off the coast of Brazil, killing all 329 passengers and crew.

DR. DONALD E. HEALY,
McMinnville, Ore.

Great idea, John. Let's have an election on free trade. And after that, how about an election on abortion and then maybe

one on immigration or national defense, all important issues "the people should decide." And don't forget Mench Lake. Speaking of which, do you suppose it's too late to have an election on Trudeau's *Charter*?

—JOSEPH WILSON

Rekindling resentment

The distinguishing tree of western Canadian resevoirial toward Ontario will surely be labelled by Alain Fetheringham as "a virtual calamus." "Everything to do with" (Gatineau, July 18) His assuring remark that Alberta "has gone from poverty to dependence without passing

DIED Colorful journalist, author and screenwriter Adele St. John, 91, in convalescent hospital in Arroyo Grande, Calif. One of few female reporters when she began her career in 1923, St. John worked for several U.S. newspapers, owned by William Randolph Hearst, and, starting with *The San Francisco Examiner*, won a Pulitzer Prize.

Letters are printed and may be forwarded. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to Letters to the Editor, *Maclean's* magazine, Maclean-Hunter Bldg., 179 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5J 1A6.



Thanks for not Drinking and Driving



Death sentence by gender

The newspaper ads for the *Laanya Medical Clinic* in New Delhi feature the slogan "Buy or get, know the sex of your unborn child." The ads promote amniocentesis, a medical procedure for determining if a fetus has genetic defects. But the test also classifies the gender of the fetus, and women in India have been undergoing it so that they can abort unwanted female children. In crowded Bombay, capital of the western state of Maharashtra, one sampling by a women's rights group of 8,000 abortions following amniocentesis in 1986 revealed that all but one were performed on female fetuses. In April, the state adopted a new law mandating the tests to women over 35 and those at risk of having children with birth defects. But many observers say that younger women in Maharashtra are still finding ways to get the tests.



Women and children in India: abortions of female fetuses

to provide substantial marriage dowries, and the social status of women who have not produced male children is low. Amniocentesis has been widely used in India for more than five years, and many women go to clinics offering the test and a "female sterilization" for as little as \$100—much less than the doctor expected fees of one thousand. In the fall, the nation's parliament will consider legislation along the lines of Maharashtra's. But even the threat of fines and a jail sentence has not stopped some Maharashtra doctors—and unlicensed practitioners—from performing the test.

Many women's rights advocates support the law—but others say that they have reservations about aborting unwanted female babies. "If there are fewer females, there seems may increase," says Kalpana Karlaikar, director of the Calcutta Social Project, an aid group for the city's poor. Until conditions improve for Indian women, Karlaikar and others will question the need for laws like the one in Maharashtra.

—JULIA BENNETT with correspondents' reports

Social pressure on poor families in India, as in many countries, is the reason for the reluctance to give birth to girls. Daughters are often raised because of the traditional requirement for parents

to give birth to sons like the one in Maharashtra

The hysteria over child abuse

By Barbara Amiel

The child-abuse bandwagon has been slow in coming to Britain. But when it arrived, it did so with a vengeance. It made its public debut on the evening of Dec. 26, 1986, at 8:30 p.m. The news: That night the right that the race began when it described as "a major international scandal" and kicked it off with a one-hour-and-45-minute program called *Child Abuse*. The program included a national poll that the BBC had commissioned, showing that an in every 30 British children had suffered some form of cruelty and estimating that three children in the average classroom of 30 were suffering sexual abuse. Sexual abuse of children in England, claimed the pollster, was as common as physical violence.

To those of us who had lived through the two volumes of *Bofin P. Badgley's 1984 report, Sexual Offenses Against Children*, this had a certain familiarity. Badgley, you may recall, looked into the problem in Canada and found that about one in two females and one in three males had been "victims of unwanted sexual acts" at some time in their lives. All of a sudden, it seemed to us, booksellers and newspapers were featuring sensational and lurid reports recalling harrowing moments when they had been sexually abused in their childhood. Of course, no one person can be blind to the fact that some child abuse is in our society exists. But the hype and hysteria of the Badgley report was given a pseudoscientific kick with statistics based on definitions of sexual abuse that lumped together a woman's experience with an oversexualized date at the age of 14—as sexual assault place—with the forced impregnation of a seven-year-old boy.

The public and the media in Britain had not been exposed to the general muddle that lies behind such a range of statistics and were sympathetic toward the notion that a growing problem of child abuse existed in Britain. The media, including television, began a steady stream of follow-up stories. The most well-settled was presented by *Cleveland* by *Cleveland*.

Cleveland is a community in northeast England, which suddenly last summer seemed to have an epidemic of child abuse. In all, as many as 187 Cleveland children were taken away from their parents on suspicion of being sexually abused. At the heart of the matter was a pediatrician who had been heavily

influenced by a seminar on child abuse in which she had learned of the techniques of "false recall and dissociation" (FAD) as means of diagnosing sexual abuse. Although FAD is a highly controversial issue, it could be a discredited tool for diagnosing abuse, the doctor in question explained to *Cleveland*.

Soon the local hospital wards were packed with babies and small children who had failed the sex test. Patients who had brought in a child with a sex-abuse history suddenly found themselves separated from their child and being told to bring in all of their other children for examination as well. Although, embarrassingly, almost all of the parents were given their children back, the pain—and the sense of the accusation—remained. As one parent, who had taken his case to court and finally got back his four daughters after a six-month separation, said: "When I left the verdict, it was quite a hollow sort."

Part of the problem with the child-abuse movement is its need to establish that child abuse exists among every group. I have no doubt that there are cases in middle-class families of dreadful abuse. But it would be令人震惊的 to find the evidence of our eyes and common sense not to see that, unless we define child abuse so broadly as to cover the violation of bullet lesions, the human stories of sexual and physical abuse more often take place in families that sleep crammed together in one bedroom. In our egalitarian society, it is liable to suggest that we may need to focus our attention on those people. As a result, the social worker turned up at the home of my upper-middle-class Canadian friends.

But most social workers know that the real cause of abuse, with the occasional exception, are more likely to occur in a social stratum where the parents are simply not competent to lead normal and adequate lives. There ought to be a way of helping those people without their care becoming our social standard. We should also be able to accept the fact, as a lesser evil, that because of the existence of such people, there will always be a number of cases.

The child-abuse bandwagon has run itself into the ground because it cannot, as does any real wagon, make those distinctions. Why it does not wish to do so is the subject for another column. But to use the unfortunate situation of a few to create an extrapolation of a few into the lives of an all is a matter to which we should take the strongest exception.

the role of conservatives. If some fathers give their daughters baths at whatever age, it is not a matter for social workers to determine whether that is normal. If there is no distress or complaint, the social workers should stay away.

One of the most vexing problems that surfaced in a child-abuse seminar I attended in Leeds last month is the problem of sexual abuse of children in lower-class families. These were families with a high degree of marital retardance and roadway pregnancies. They were largely confined to substandard housing; their lives were miserable and the children, grossly abused—sexually and physically. But because no one wants to acknowledge that there are lower-class people, we arrange laws and procedures to exempt them and them apply these to everyone.

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The Congress says yes

For most of the turbulent 10 months Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's push for free trade with the United States has produced powerful enemies on both sides of the debate. Ever since Mulroney and President Ronald Reagan discussed the idea of border-free commerce between Canada and the United States at the Quebec City summit in March, 1985, the issue has dominated relations between the two countries, divided public opinion and heated up Canadian politics. The secretary general last week in Canada, the Senate maintained the vow to block passage of the free trade agreement after it leaves the Congress. In Washington, the U.S. Congress, with the United States Congress, put an end to the free trade debate, leaving the bill before the U.S. Senate—and the bill still before Ottawa's court.

In an unusually broad, 15-month meeting, the powerful U.S. Senate Finance committee unanimously endorsed the trade legislation. Later in the day, the 450-member House of Representatives, though reasonably opposed, approved the trade bill by a vote of 366 to 49 after a three-hour debate that drew effusive speeches from both Republicans and Democrats.

Now, only the 100-member U.S. Senate needs to vote on the trade bill before it is sent to the White House for presidential approval—although that will not likely happen until next month, when Congress returns from its summer recess. However, the congressional action turned up the heat under the Commons on Aug. 12, amid wrangling and a blizzard of amendment amendments, as began final debate on the free trade bill before it goes to the Senate—where the Liberals have promised to keep it until Mulroney calls a federal election on the issue.

So deeply have the country's most prominent politicians dug themselves in on both sides of the debate that their futures could be incriminately linked to the fate of the deal. Liberal Leader John Turner's daring initiative last month in resurrecting the Liberal-dominated Senate to block the free trade bill when it reaches the upper chamber will almost certainly derail his political future. For Mulroney, who has made the signing of a free trade deal with the United States the cornerstone

of his government, meeting Turner's election challenge presents problems because recent polls place the Liberals and Turner in a virtual tie.

The Prime Minister, Turner and New Democratic Leader Edward Broadbent—the latter two arguing that free trade will undermine Canadian sovereignty—have crisscrossed the country with a panoply rarely seen in federal Canadian politics. Tempers have been rubbed raw, leading to verbal brawls in the Commons.

The position was evident one more last week as the Commons voted down, 161 to 150, the controversial 105-page package for the first time. Many Canadians have backed the controversial agreement. Saskatchewan Liberal Senator Daniel Hayes: "I think that the Canadian public—on both sides of the issue—is in favour of a moderator." Added Ruth Reforman, president of the 100,000-member Consumers' Association of Canada, which has given the trade deal a conditional endorsement: "Both sides have overestimated their positions."

The Cdn has said that it believes Canada would benefit from free trade with the United States. But the organization has offered only tokenism to support the deal because, said Reforman, it leaves too many questions unanswered.

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answered. One of them, she said, is whether consumers will pay less for tariff-free U.S. products, rather than having Ottawa try to recover the lost revenue through additional taxation.

In Washington, there were few such reservations. Said Representative Sam Gibbons, a Florida Democrat: "If anything of a bipartisan nature has happened in this bill during the past few years, this certainly would rank near the top." Added Representative Paddy Crane, an Illinois Republican: "This agreement is the crowning achievement of this president and his administration."

But for Canada, there were warnings as well. Representative John LaFalce, a Democrat from Niagara Falls, N.Y., said that if the legislation does not pass, a trade war would ensue between the two countries. Said LaFalce: "There will be an avalanche of unfair trading constraints brought by both Canada and the United States that will set back both of our economies immensely."

Indeed, the trade bill faces an uncertain fate in Ottawa. Last week's third-reading debate revolved around Bill C-60, submitted to the Commons with two amendments made by a 15-member, all-party legislative committee that studied the pact for three weeks.

The milestones of free trade

In 1984, the United States and Britain—arrived on behalf of its Canadian constituents—signed a limited free trade deal, which the Americans abrogated 12 years later. Several attempts to renegotiate a deal across the border in the 1980s that followed were unsuccessful. Here are the latest agreement milestones:

June 2, 1985: During his successful Conservative leadership campaign, Brian Mulroney said at free trade in Thunder Bay, Ont.: "What Canada's sovereignty and we will have none of it, not during the leadership campaign or at any other time."



Mulroney: the folks were not 'over'

March 18, 1986: Mulroney and U.S. President Ronald Reagan meet in Quebec City at the so-called Shamrock Summit; they agree to explore greater "bilateral trade" between the two countries.

Nov. 4, 1986: Both countries name skilled negotiators: Mulroney appoints Simon Fraser, the United States names Peter Murphy.

May 22, 1986: The United States imposes duties on Canadian cedar shingles and shingles. Free trade talks also officially begin in Ottawa. Deadline for completion: Oct. 4, 1987.

June 3, 1986: Canada retaliates against the "unjustified" U.S. duty on shingles, reviving \$20 million in duties on U.S. products.

Sept. 23, 1987: Fraser steps out of negotiations, saying that the Americans have not met "our bottom line." He devalues the talks as "over." Mulroney says that they are "suspended."

Oct. 3, 1987: Seeking a salvage free trade before the election, Mulroney meets International Trade Minister Patricia Carney, Finance Minister Michael



Reagan: after a marathon, a deal

Wilson, Chief of Staff Derek Bunnell and Brian in Washington. Bunnell, after 24 hours of negotiating, forces Mulroney to tell the teams how reached agreement. It is

now only a matter in the Commons, it will be sent to the 104-seat Senate, where the 39 Liberal members have already pledged not to pass C-60 until a general election is called. That would provide Mulroney with an election issue of his own—Senate obstruction. But the biggest issue in such a campaign would not be the Senate. It would be the shape of things to come in trade between Canada and the United States.

—THOMAS THIBAudeau in Ottawa with
HELEN McLAUGHLIN in Toronto and
IAN NORTON in Washington

more than an hour to the meeting
deadline.

Jan. 2, 1986: Mulroney and Reagan sign the final text of the trade agreement.

July 6, 1986: Parliament approves the pact in principle, 114 to 31.

July 20, 1986: Liberal Leader John Turner, trying to force an election on free trade, says that he has asked the Liberal-dominated Senate to stall the deal.

Aug. 6, 1986: The U.S. House of Representatives passes the trade bill, 386 to 43.

Aug. 12, 1986: In Ottawa, the Commons begins final debate on the agreement; near the end of the session, which promises to stall the bill to force an election.

Oct. 3, 1987: Deadline for finalization of free trade by both countries, failing which the agreement may die.

—GREGORY BARNETT



Left to right, U.S. congressmen Dennis DeConcini, Denis St. Onge, Sam Gibbons: after the vote, smile

A delicate challenge

Much has been experienced by political leaders this summer. In the April 28 provincial election, the Conservatives, under leader Gary Filmon, won 25 of the 32 seats in the legislature, reducing the one-governing New Democrats to 12 seats, while the Liberals claimed 20. Last week, the minority government introduced its first budget. Liberal Leader Sharon Cavers said that her

team could cope when the house considers the Moose Lake constitutionality bill. The Liberals are opposed, and, so far, the New Democrats are divided. The debate and final vote are expected next week. But it is the first speech from the throne, on July 23, Filmon committed his government to introducing a resolution on Moose Lake during the current session and holding public hearings in the fall.



Filmon (left) and Cavers after the budget files the controversy over Moose Lake

party would not support the budget. NDP Leader Gary Doer did not say how his caucus will vote. But with both parties voicing strong criticisms of the budget, Filmon faces the most difficult challenge of his new government's first legislative session.

If the Tories survive the budget vote, expected on Aug. 27, it will be largely because the opposition concluded that it was too soon to force an election. But Filmon's path through the first session of the 32nd legislature will be strewn with other potential pitfalls—from the embarrasures that inexperienced cabinet ministers can cause a government to his decent backbench MLAs from rural Manitoba who have strong right-wing views. But Filmon's biggest

challenge last week, the budgeted 32-year-old Filmon, a former Winnipeg businessman, defended his budget. It contained \$1.6 billion in government spending and tax increases of nine cents a litre for gasoline and nine cents on a package of cigarettes, while providing more money for health and education. The budget of the previous government also projected total government spending at about \$4.5 billion, included identical tax increases on gasoline and cigarettes and promised more funds for health and education. The main difference was that, last week, the Tories were also able to report a \$40-million windfall from increased tax revenues from Manitoba's booming mining industry and federal transfer payments to



Cavers' reservations

provinces announced by Ottawa this spring. The result was that Finance Minister Clayton Maxson projected a deficit of \$196 million.

Around the legislature, however, the most intense discussions took place about tactics, not the substance of the budget. The opposition has told Maxson that the party is not eager to fight another campaign. But Doer could be forced to vote against the government over a matter of philosophical disagreement. The NDP opposes the government's transfer of funds from public day care to privately owned day care centres and budget cuts at the provincial bureau that monitors pay equity in the public sector.

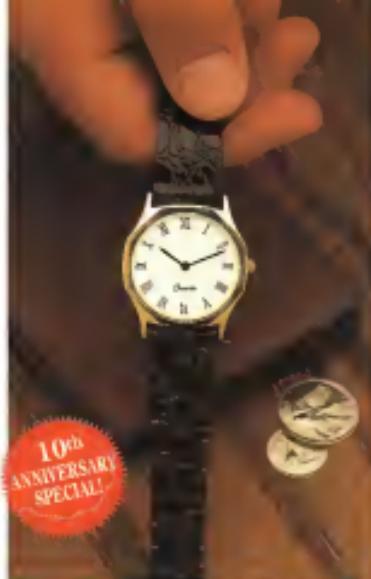
Cavers' Liberals, whose election gains were largely at the NDP's expense, are anxious to capitalize on their momentum. In May, Cavers proposed reservations about having an early election, but she now says that last week's budget was justification enough to bring down the government. Doer, who left the budget, "With beginning of the Tories' clear realization of their right-wing agenda," did not say how the NDP would vote. Said Filmon: "The opposition parties have taken a cynical position and are leaving the government and the public dangling."

Since the election, the star has attempted to distance himself from the Liberals by portraying Cavers as a supporter of the government. In late July, Doer charged in the legislature that a Sudbien Toy Manufacturing Co. Ltd. supplier in Flin Flon, Man., was handling shipments of toxic materials from the United States that were harmful to workers. During the ensuing debate, Cavers defended both the government and the company. But Cavers was undercut when Environment Minister Edward Gonyea later issued a stop-work order.

On occasion, however, the NDP's criticism of Cavers has been stiffer. Earlier this month, NDP backbencher Jim Maloway called the Liberal leader "Attila the Hun"—a reference to what he perceived as Cavers' conservative leanings. Attorney General James McRae came to Cavers' defense, saying Maloway of using such language Maloway later apologized.

In spite of Filmon's talents held in power, many political observers believe that he is firmly in charge of the government. Said William Neville, professor of political science at the University of Manitoba: "Filmon seems much more in charge than he ever did as leader of the opposition." These leadership qualities will be easily tested in the coming weeks as Filmon tries to outmaneuver a hostile opposition.

—DEBORA SMITH in Winnipeg



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Feder Gulf at anchor in the St. Lawrence: ungodly bills and shoddy equipment

The ship to nowhere

From left, the ship looks like a tramp steamer in a 1940s B-movie. The rusted and battered Mexican-registered Feder Gulf has been riding at anchor in Lake St. Pierre, 60 km up the St. Lawrence River from Montreal, since June 22, when the first of several creditors got a court order and federal authorities seized the vessel. And while the ship's owners sort through a growing mass of legal and mechanical problems preventing its departure, there were indications last week that the ship may move into Montreal's harbor, 800 m. from the captain and the 13 remaining Mexican crewmen live amid the stench of rotting garbage piled in bags on deck. They have limited fresh water, poor food and no paychecks and are not allowed ashore by their captain. Declared federal immigration officer Dennis Levesque, who secured the vessel last week: "It is an appalling situation."

The vessel's predicament has made the crewmen virtual captives of their employer, Flota Maritima Mexicana of Mexico City. The members of the original crew of 17—sugary, tired and unpaid—left Montreal by plane at the company's expense on July 8. Of the six men sent to replace them, two looked at the sky, refused to work and headed to Montreal, where they joined the Mexican crewmates to form the company's new crew. The other four, as well as the ship's engineer in Canadian waters, at least four seafarers—including Montreal-born Mathewies Inc., which chartered the ship, and another that allegedly has not been paid for four months



Crew members aboard ship shower in the dark

unloaded in Valleyfield, Que., on June 16. When the first claim against the vessel was filed on June 22, the Federal Court issued a warrant of arrest and ordered the ship set out to leave Canadian waters until the dispute was settled. Other claims followed.

Court guard officers who boarded the Feder Gulf July 22 found rusted or broken equipment, undersized pumps and compressors, frayed cables, rotting

deck in port. However, Robert Cyphret, a Montreal lawyer representing the owners, insisted, "This is not a fly-by-night operation and the owners are committed to getting the ship back to sea as soon as possible." For the 13 unhappy crewmen living aboard the Feder Gulf, that was a promise they hoped would be kept.

—MICHAEL ROSS in Montreal

fire hoses, inadequate lifeboats, and a number of hatches and doors that were not watertight. Declared Yves Haude, the coast guard's regional manager of ship safety: "We consider the ship to be unseaworthy. My inspectors said this was one of the worst they have seen."

As well, living conditions on board were appalling. Crewmen were using buckets of polluted lake water to shower in an unlighted room, and many had not had a change of clothing for weeks. Mauritanian San Youth organization arranged to have food and clean clothing sent to the ship, but, said San Youth captain Victor Manuel Rodriguez, "That arrangement is failing because the five of us are incommunicado."

Said veteran sailor Francisco Garmiso, 41: "I'm 27 years at sea. I have never been on a ship like this one." Added Victor Gomez, 25: "The food is terrible. We have nothing to do, and I haven't been paid for 1½ months." The pay for most of the sailors is a meager \$6 in \$7 a day. Still, Gomez and his mates, whose families in Mexico depend on them for support, will wait until recently that they would have a better chance of getting their back pay if they stayed with the ship until the end of the voyage.

There were signs at the end of last week that the Feder Gulf might, at least, be able to move shortly to dock at the Port of Montreal. The ship's owners have posted substantial bonds related to the claim by Navacan Inc. of Montreal, the charterers, who posted a longer-term resolution of its financial and legal disputes with the owners. Sailors began minor repairs on board, but much of the major work, which Haude estimated would take two to three weeks, will have to be done in port. However, Robert Cyphret, a Montreal lawyer representing the owners, insisted, "This is not a fly-by-night operation and the owners are committed to getting the ship back to sea as soon as possible." For the 13 unhappy crewmen living aboard the Feder Gulf, that was a promise they hoped would be kept.

—MICHAEL ROSS in Montreal



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The Spring That Died

By Peter Rehak

Peter Rehak was born in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. At seven years old and alone with his parents at age 12, he returned to his native land as Associated Press correspondent in Prague for a critical six months through August, 1968. Received with awards from the Overseas Press Club of America for his Prague reporting, Rehak returned to Canada in 1972 and now is executive producer with CTV's public affairs program *W5*. His first book, *Czechoslovak Agent*, will be published in October.

Just before 2 a.m. on Aug. 21, 1968, the high-pitched sound of aircraft landing in quick succession at Prague's Ruzyně Airport shattered the stillness of the summer night. Soviet paratroopers burst out of the planes and seized the airport. Within the hour, columns of Soviet tanks from East Germany and Poland rammed into the city, their warlike engines spitting red exhaust fumes into the night sky. By dawn, every major artery and bridge was occupied. The moblike mobs to smash the Prague Spring—a brave experiment in independence that was characterized then by the slogan "Solidarity with a human face." That flirtation with freedom had made an oppressed nation light-headed on hope. And, still it was so cruelly suppressed, that hope captured the imagination of the world.

Heppen: I had been reporting on the Prague Spring since April, and to me it was a story that you did not just cover, you lived it. In a sense I am living it still—especially now, on the 20th anniversary of the invasion, and at the time when the hopes aroused throughout Eastern Europe by the Prague Spring have been rekindled by new leaders espousing new reforms. It is easy to become infected by the sort of life evident everywhere in Prague, 1968. That was particularly true for me because I had been born in Czechoslovakia. I grew up in Canada but I still knew the language. I knew some of the land's history, including its years of occupation by Nazi Germany and the 1945 takeover by the Moscow-supported Communist regime, whose successors still rule the country. I felt a special affinity for the land of my birth.

The world's attention was riveted on Czechoslovakia then because it seemed that democratic developments there might set a pattern for all of Eastern Europe. The country's new

leaders were trying to move closer to its traditional liberal roots while remaining in the Communist camp. But the big question was whether the Soviet overruling—and their increasingly severe allies in other capitals of the Warsaw Pact military alliance—would accept the changes that brought political debate, greater economic reforms and inspired cultural creativity. Solidarity had been used to quell unrest in East Germany in 1953 and in Hungary in 1956. But in 1968, after months of tension, it seemed by mid-August that Moscow had resigned itself to the reforms introduced under Alexander Dubcek, leader of the Czechoslovak Communist party since January.

The invasion startled even the experts. Taken forces from Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria—let not from Russia, which had been free of Soviet forces for 18 years—joined the operation. As people took to the streets shouting "Go home!" to the occupying army, they removed road signs to confuse the tanks and denied them food and water. A general strike forced the Soviets to negotiate with Dubcek, who had been exiled to Moscow. President Ludvík Svoboda, a 72-year-old hero of the Second World War, refused to sanction a pro-Soviet puppet government. The state-run radio and television remained on the air for days in support of the resistance. About 100 civilians were reported killed by the invading forces.

Heppen: It is hard to imagine 30 years later why Moscow acted in the way that it did. And in 1968, the words "classless society" and "revolution" had not yet entered the political vocabulary. Ludvík Svoboda was in charge in Moscow, and his allies were the desperate old men whose power dated from the Cold War's beginning. The most vocal opponents of the Prague forces were West Germany's Walter Ulbricht, the gaunt老人 who had built the Berlin Wall in 1961, and Wladyslaw Gomulka, the authoritarian who ruled Poland then. They clearly saw the changes in Prague as a threat to their own regimes.

Dubcek's "Action Program" proposed freedom of speech and freedom for all citizens to travel abroad. To show just how much he had in mind, Dubcek lifted state censorship. Almost overnight, newspapers, radio and television reported gory details of the Stalinist past and recent economic misdeeds. I arrived in Prague just before May Day, the traditional time to show off military and political might by parading troops and placard-carrying workers. But the show on May 1, 1968,

was like no other such parade. It was a low-key between-the-people-and-the-new-leadership. Old men in the long-horned uniforms of the Czechoslovak Legion, which had fought against the Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917, marched past with the mothers of Škoda, the nation's largest heavy-industry manufacturer, and the boy scouts—both enthused since the Communist coup in 1948. Adding to the "new look" were marchers from

wing antinazi forces, "newspaper ownership and restored 'party unity.' Dubcek replied that Stalineses did the party more damage than anything he was doing.

Soviet troops crossed the border at the end of May for "measures." Then, on Aug. 21, Soviet and other Warsaw Pact officials met Czechoslovak leaders in the Slovnaft capital of Bratislava and hammered out an agreement that seemed to end the crisis. The Soviet troops withdrew. People rejoiced when on vacation.

Dubcek: Very early on Aug. 21, as I was having a postmidnight nightcap with three of my journalists colleagues in the Albatros Hotel, where we all lived, we heard the unmistakable noise of the military planes landing. We looked at each other in disbelief and I took a small portable radio. I started to play the words "An important announcement from the Central Committee" before the transmission went dead. I charged down several flights of stairs and heard the rest of the message in the hotel's garage, where the TV system was hooked into Radio Prague by a direct line—line—a common setup in public places. Whoever stepped the air transmission had forgotten to turn off that system. And there was no mistaking the message that the country had been occupied. I darted to the Telos' window and dialed into the Associated Press network. I didn't know it then, but it was the first word of the invasion in the West.

Priest: By dawn, the city was in chaos. Tanks and armored cars rolled down the narrow streets and alleys. All the country's transportation system had stopped. There were hundreds of refugees in Prague. An international geological congress had been under way. So had a meeting of a multiple international association whose participants included Shirley Temple Black. My wife, Louise, who had arrived a few days before the invasion with our baby, Anna, rounded up the former Hollywood child star for an interview. A few days later, they left in a convoy of foreigners organized by the U.S. Embassy. Despite the short-term reinstatement of Dubcek, the Prague Spring had ended. The country had paid a heavy price. Aside from those who died in the air raid, 200,000 people lost their jobs. Workers, mostly professionals and intellectuals—and those who remained behind had years of oppression.

The unimpeachable message of the invasion was that a small country in the center of Europe should not try to achieve its dreams of independence, democracy and freedom before it came to the Soviet Union itself. And even now, in the days of glasnost and perestroika in Moscow—and in neighboring Hungary—there is no room for reform in Prague. And who can blame the people who lived through the Prague Spring, and who watched it die?



Prague in August, 1968. Dubcek (left) in his golden last moments above in the streets

the assassination of former political prisoners.

It was little wonder that Dubcek fled Prague. By May, the Soviet Politburo had concluded that reforms "revolutionized" Dubcek was too dangerous to retain. Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia had forced him to resign. The Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria—fired off a joint letter fully denouncing that Dubcek dealt with his "right-

of the invasion was that a small country in the center of Europe should not try to achieve its dreams of independence, democracy and freedom before it came to the Soviet Union itself. And even now, in the days of glasnost and perestroika in Moscow—and in neighboring Hungary—there is no room for reform in Prague. And who can blame the people who lived through the Prague Spring, and who watched it die?

The Scent Of Freedom

It is a scene that would have been unthinkable just two years ago. At 1935 on a midwinter morning, the weekly trading session of the Budapest stock exchange is declared open. Casually dressed businessmen and women stand around an oval conference table in a modest office block, saluting and self stocks and bonds as chief trader Erkki Tornelli calls out their names. The frantic, noisy belling that characterizes the trading floors of Western exchanges is absent—but the Hungarian traders are no less riveted by their task. Precisely 20 minutes later, the session is over, and officials count up the morning's work: 362,000 worth of securities have changed hands. Béla Náday, the 32-year-old head of Hungary's Securities Exchange Committee, "of course, it's a modest beginning. But you must remember we have to learn to do business all over again."

The change has revolutionary implications for Hungary and the five other Eastern European countries dominated for four decades by the Soviet Union. Hungary abolished stock trading and other capitalist practices in 1948, soon after the Communist party took power. But in January, Budapest opened the only exchange in the Communist world, and officials now simultaneously talk of expanding its operations next year with financial help from the World Bank. Encouraged by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's bold policy of political and economic reform, Hungarians are forging ahead with changes that will move their society much closer to a Western-style market economy with a greater degree of individual opportunity.

Center. The Hungarian government is emulating Western models at times with an almost fanatical streak. This month, Prime Minister Károly Grósz, just back from an 11-day visit to the United States and Canada, declared that his country wants to build Eastern Europe's first Disneyland.

Throughout the Eastern Bloc, the Gorbachev-inspired Soviet innovations are being closely



Béla Náday

watched with a mixture of hope and caution in a region that is home to 125 million people. The Soviet Union's leaders, once the unshaking enforcers of socialist discipline in their Eastern European realm, are now pushing their allies to embrace reform. Hungary, traditionally the pacemaker of change in the region, has been the most eager to respond, with Poland not that far behind. But other countries have been much slower to follow—or, in the case of Romania, have rejected the new norms altogether. East Germany and Bulgaria, with their aged, conservative leaderships, have taken only token steps toward liberalization.

Left. The new winds from Moscow are felt most sharply in Czechoslovakia, where the people two weeks ago were painfully mindful of a poignant anniversary. Late on the night of Aug. 20, 1968, Soviet and other Warsaw Pact troops entered Czechoslovakia and put an end to the most sweeping reforms ever attempted in the Soviet Bloc. Two decades later, some Czechoslovak dissidents now look to Moscow with hope. Bohuslav Jancák, a leader of the dissident Charter 77 group—dissolved in 1977—said Monday: "I never thought I would praise any Russian leader. But Gorbachev is at least on the side of life—while the leadership here is still trying to uphold a system of death."

As Eastern European leaders grapple with the revolutionary changes sweeping the Communist world, they are working against a backdrop of severe economic difficulties—and increasing tensions in their own camp. Hungary and Poland, leaders of the region, have had to do with high inflation and foreign debts that threaten to cripple their attempts to modernize. East Germany and Czechoslovakia are grappling with stagnation, inefficient economies that no longer produce the improvements growth rates that once ensured relative prosperity and long-term stability.

Right. In Romania, living standards have dropped sharply and political repression has increased as President Nicolae Ceausescu pushes his country into almost complete isolation. Throughout the region, dissident groups are pressing for political reforms to match the economic changes. And while the Soviets now ensure that their allies maintain a facade of unity, they are also eyeballing openly over economic, ethnic and environmental issues. Says Alan Smith, senior lecturer at London's School of



Gorbachev, wife Raisa, in Poland last month watching Soviet reforms with hope and caution

Slavonic and East European Studies. "There is an economic, political and social crisis ongoing in the East. In many ways, it has already arrived."

The outlines of what totals could be readily seen during tours of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, neighboring countries that have responded to change in directionally different ways. Both suffered a brutal invasion from the East Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Hungary in 1956, when Soviet tanks crushed an anti-Communist revolt and deposed the government of Imre Nagy, who had taken his country out of the Warsaw Pact. In both Budapest and Prague, shop windows are filled with contraband items, their citizens relative prosperous in Eastern Bloc terms, with few shortages of material goods. And leaders of both countries acknowledge that change is needed. If they are to avoid sliding further behind the West. But the differences between the economic and political climates in the two countries are much more striking than the similarities.

Prussia. In Hungary, which has enjoyed the most liberal atmosphere in the Soviet Bloc for the past 30 years, the pressure for reform in the Soviet Union has encouraged the government of Prime Minister Gábor Gyurcsány to be much more liberal and less overbearing than Gorbachev has done. "In the past, we often encountered incomprehension from our allies when we wanted to make changes," said Ernő Horváth, a senior official of Hungary's foreign ministry. "Now, the wind is behind us. We do not have to explain." The leadership's determination to introduce reform quickly results partly from Hungary's long-standing economic crisis. Servicing the country's foreign debt of nearly \$25 billion (by far the highest per capita debt in the Eastern Bloc) absorbs much of its

hard currency earnings—making it desperate for foreign investment.

As a result, Hungarian leaders plan to pass new laws in early 1989 that would make it much easier for economic and strategic partners to do business. For the first time, foreign firms would be allowed to set up wholly owned subsidiaries in Hungary, instead of operating through joint ventures with state companies, and would be allowed to change all their local profits into their own currencies and take the money out of the country.

British. And in June, the Hungarian party's Central Committee announced a plan to radically restructure the economy by cutting off subsidies to inefficient state enterprises, do away with subsidized prices for many goods and allow managers to lay off workers in order to make their companies profitable. It is a program that goes more to the strict, conservative economics of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher than to those of Karl Marx. And Gyurcsány himself has spoken in language strikingly reminiscent of Thatcher's lectures to the British people. "State authorities must cease acting as masters," he said in a speech this spring, "and leave decisions to the enterprises and individuals."

Western. Such plans, however, will inflict economic pain on many ordinary Hungarians, already squeezed by inflation, running at an annual rate of 17 per cent, and the high taxes levied in the Communist world (the top rate is 98 per cent). Party leaders say that up to 100,000 people will lose their jobs as the World Bank experts say the economy is now likely to be 200,000. Gyurcsány has offered guaranteed employment in one of the trade-offs for lack of political freedom that could well mean widespread social unrest. Says Martin Tardos, a professor at Budapest's Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences, "In principle, everything will close down, and others will have to fire workers. It is hard for many people to accept that."

The economic changes have fuelled demands for political reforms as well. Hungary's intellectuals, like those in Poland, already enjoy a wide degree of liberty, they openly criticize the government with little fear of retaliation and can publish their views with relatively few restrictions. Many were encouraged in May when two of the Communist party's most outspoken reformers, Béla Nagy and Béla Náday, were named in the ruling Politburo. Nagy, they noted, joined in the debates last September at a meeting of the Democratic Forces, Hungary's most important dissident group, and has openly speculated that the country

right shoulder. He says party systems—particularly authoritarian in a Central European country. Few expect Hungary to go that far, but many say that the country might well be the first to follow within the Communist ranks. "They must acknowledge the link between free enterprises and free politics," says Miklós Haraszti, an editor of the unofficial journal *Borsod* (roughly "Borsod Gulf").

Sheets like in Hungary, however, those who openly challenge the Communist party's political monopoly can quickly run into trouble with the authorities. In June, police broke up a demonstration of several hundred dissidents and detained several of their leaders. Other critics have been denied passports—something now guaranteed by law to every Hungarian citizen. In his July 16 speech, people associated with Szűcs and an independent artists' group called *Indepon* staged an eight-day hunger strike in a rowhouse apartment, holding barely a quarter of a mile from Central Committee headquarters in downtown Budapest to protest being refused passports. But even they were surprised when Grósz commented on their action during his U.S. trip, and the state-controlled newspapers reported the dissidents' complaints: "Before, we would not have been able to get our names out at all," said Ferenc Kelemen, a bearded *Szabad* editor who last 15 July, during the hunger strike, "At least now they talk about it. That is progress of a sort."

Even that much progress, however, is nowhere to be found in Czechoslovakia. In sharp contrast to the relatively open political atmosphere of Budapest, Prague remains gripped by a climate of suffocating conservatism and haunted by the ghosts of 1968. Western diplomats, other foreigners, and critics of the government are routinely kept under surveillance, their telephone tapped and their meetings monitored. Ordinary Czechs have been critical voices but have elaborate mechanisms to avoid being overheard—such as "working" residence until they are sure that no one is close enough to hear a conversation.

The official news media remain bastions of uncritical orthodoxy by no stretch. Soviet publications are easily swapped up because of their heavy dogma. "You have to get to the newsstand early to get *Praesens* these days," said one Prague resident. "Everyone wants to know what's happening in Moscow."

Czechoslovak officials acknowledge



they introduce economic reforms more independently of central planners—but it does not intend to put the whole plan into effect until 1990.

Opposition. That ultralibertarian approach is even more marked in political reforms, where the Czechoslovak Communist party has not introduced any significant initiatives. Democrats and other critics say the reason is that the author was in the party, including Central Secretary Miroslav Jakes, who are the same ones who collaborated with the Soviets 30 years ago to snuff out the Prague Spring initiated by Alexander Dubcek—whose reforms were in many ways similar to those now enthusiastically advocated by the Rev. János Kádár. Jakes himself headed the party committee responsible for verifying memberships from 1968 until 1971 and personally supervised the party's purge of some 450,000 supporters of Dubcek, who now live in official disgrace in the southern city of Bratislava. Czech author Josef Skvorecky, who has lived in Canada since he left Czechoslovakia 20 years ago and has just published a collection of essays that deal with his experiences, called Miroslav Šimán, said Monday that leaders of the Prague government are now in an awkward situation. The Soviets, he pointed out, are urging them to implement changes recommended by those that they created in 1968. So did Skvorecky, a professor of English at the University of Toronto, add that the theory that Gorbachev is trying to dismantle an entire free-market and capitalist economic restructuring "these were all the main ideas of the Dubcek era. So you can imagine being in the government's shoes. It's very embarrassing."



CHEERING REFORM IN WARSAW

the need for change—at least in the economic field. They say that their country's economy badly needs to be liberalized—but they note that, unlike Hungary, it is not in the same position. The country's debt stands at just over \$3.6 billion, and inflation has been held to just one or two per cent a year. But many citizens say that they are concerned by stagnant growth rates—and they add that there has been little change since such heavy industries as steel-making were expanded in the 1960s. Says Karel Dýba, senior researcher at Prague's Institute of Economic Forecasting: "We are still running the same economy we built 30 years ago. But now it is completely obsolete, so naturally we cannot compete with the West."

In response, the government plans to gradually let enterprises operate more independently of central planners—but it does not intend to put the whole plan into effect until 1990.

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As a result, Czechoslovakia's Communist party has permitted a open debate on the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact invasion. In several interviews with foreign journalists earlier this year, Dubcek, now 66 and recently retired from a job as a treasury clerk in Bratislava, argued that there was a "deep underlying connection" between his reforms and Gorbachev's policies of planned (openness) and spontaneous (restructuring). And Prišva, the party daily, retaliated with blistering denunciations of Dubcek's former demands that any such link should be acknowledged.

Opposition. In negotiations with Czechoslovak officials early in August, members of the 1968 anniversary committee maintained an embarrassed silence—or with convoluted attempts to disown the significance. Said Miroslav Šimán, the chief government spokesman: "We have as many important tasks as hand that I do not think that is very relevant to the work of the government." Vladimír Gertlich, a retired editor-in-chief of *Republika*, offered a more straightforward explanation: "The difference between perestroika this and now is that now it is not an confrontation with the Soviet Union. This is very important."

Strikes. Despite the severe restrictions on independent political activity, the Czechoslovak government has faced a fresh challenge from an unexpected source: the Roman Catholic Church. Last fall, a group of Catholics in Moravia organized a 24-hour protest calling on the government to abolish restrictions on the free practice of religion. Prague's archbishop, 85-year-old Cardinal František Šubrle, endorsed the action, and religious activists say that about 50,000 people had signed the petition by the end of July.

The government has responded to the growing Catholic revolts with violence and arrests. In March, riot police in Bratislava used a water cannon to break up a democratic

fine of about 2,000 Catholics, many of them elderly women who were members of Czechoslovak and Hungarian groups with their internal problems, they and the other Eastern European countries face severe crises in relations among them. National and ethnic tensions, once suppressed by Moscow's strict supervision, have come to the surface. In Bulgaria, authorities have arrested some 1,600 to force all the country's estimated one million ethnic Turks to assimilate. In the completely Turkish province of Razgrad, ethnic Turks have been banned, as have Turkish schools, publications and even names.

Opposition. But for the most, major disputes is that between Budapest and Bucharest over Romania's treatment of the 3.7 million ethnic Hungarians in its Transylvanian region. Hungarians are enraged by Romania's plan to bulldoze 7,000 villages in Transylvania and relocate their inhabitants to centralized agricultural complexes. Hungary claims that the policy will destroy Hungarians' culture in Transylvania and, in June, several thousand Romanians protested outside the Hungarian Embassy in Budapest.

The heralded in relations between the two natural Warsaw Pact allies is the most severe ever in the East Bloc. Last year, it led Hungary to take the unprecedented step of cosponsoring with Cossida a resolution on minority rights at the ongoing Vienna conference on security and cooperation in Europe.

The Eastern European countries face a crisis, as well, in their economic dealings. All are members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, or Comecon, but trade among them has stagnated for the past several years. One problem: their currencies are not convertible, so that trade must be carried out through an elaborate and clumsy barter system. Dýba, the Prague economist, said that reform of Comecon

The 'Grósznot' text

During a Toronto visit on July 15, only 15 weeks after he became general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Hungary's prime minister, János Grósz, addressed The Toronto Club of Canada and answered questions from reporters, including Maclean's Assistant Editor Heather Kuwan. Excerpts:

East-West relations. We have today are part of a major change in the world. We see a world emerging in which it is not the military, it is not sheer force but co-operation and friendship that will gain the upper hand.

Hungary's future. We envisage a Hungary which is more dynamic, in the forefront of scientific development; whose economy can adjust to the fast-changing world economy; and which makes the best use of its human and material resources; a country characterized not by hu-

tried but by respect for each other, where culture is flourishing, and we have more freedom and democracy.

One-party government. We want a socialist system that works better if a theory is carried out is a mistake was in practice, that does not necessarily mean that the theory is wrong. The Soviet system is not the same thing as Hungarian socialism, and I think that when we try to carry out the theory in a different way, it is only then that we can see if the theory is valid or not. I think we are not too bad, because socialism had about 300 years to work out its own practice.

As for the establishment of a multiparty system, this will not finally today in Hungary. At the same time, we will submit to parliament a bill on the right of association. But of course it is impossible to say now when the majority of the citizens and co-operation of different associations will be on the political community and on politics.

Hungary in the year 2000. To be quite frank, I'd like to know myself. But I would like it to be much wealthier and much happier than the one we have now.



GROSZ worker, Gorbachev: new breeze from Moscow



Members of the Young Communist League commemorate Lenin's 1913 climb on Czechoslovakia's Mount Krkonoše. *we can wait*

could take place only after its member countries carry out economic reforms at home. Said Dyle, "A real common market, like the one in Western Europe, is incompatible with central planning in each country. You have to abolish it and go to a market-driven economy as well."

In addition, environmental issues have strained relations among the Eastern European nations. While concerns for the environment has long been at the forefront of public debate in advanced Western countries, the Socialist Bloc prioritized economic growth above all—and did not permit an independent ecological movement to develop. The result: air and water pollution are far worse than in Western Europe.

Protests: East Germany and Poland have long complained about air pollution from northern Czechoslovakia. The northern Bulgarian city of Rousse has suffered chlorine poisoning from Romanian factories on the other side of the Danube River; and Czechoslovakia has complained that Hungary is dredging 10 feet on a peak hydroelectric project elsewhere on the Danube that may damage the ecology of the river valley.

At the same time, indi-

vidual groups dedicated to protecting the environment have sprung up in several Eastern Bloc countries. Earlier this year, protests by several thousand people persuaded the Prague government not to build a power station in an area that environmentalists said could be easily damaged. Said Vlasto Hrdý, a Catholic priest in Prague who lost his license to preach for his active support of the Charter 77 group: "That kind of visible success can encourage other people to speak out."

Still, many and other dissidents caution that they do not expect quick change in Czechoslovakia or most other Eastern European countries. And, as Poland and Hungary, there are few signs that their leaders are prepared to follow the spirit of Gorbachev's reforms—and few signs that popular unrest is widespread enough to force them to take quick action. "It is ironic that the Russians are now about as repressive as ever," said Janek, the Czechoslovak dissident leader. "But if communism has taught us anything, it has taught us patience. We can wait." With the global pace of change in most of Eastern Europe, that kind of patience will be badly needed—and surely tested.

—ANDREW PHILLIPS in Prague
with correspondents abroad

From Footwear To Grain

Canadian trade with the Eastern Bloc—overwhelmingly grain sales—accounts to less than 1% out of every \$100 worth of Canada's total free-way commerce. The 1987 trade in rounded millions of dollars (total products traded):

Exports to	Imports from
Soviet Union 301 (grain)	36 (yogurt)
Romania 54 (engines)	57 (clothes)
East Germany 56 (grain)	34 (aviation fuel)
Poland 13 (molasses)	69 (textiles)
Czechoslovakia 14 (hides)	64 (footwear)
Hungary 16 (chemicals)	47 (vehicle parts)
Bulgaria 36 (grain)	10 (clothes)

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Fresh Hopes—And New Fears

Three weeks ago, in the port city of Gdańsk, Lech Wałęsa spent an hour discussing Poland's politics and future with 40 students in the auditorium of St. Hyacinth's Church. That meeting took place eight years after Wałęsa led shipyard workers on a strike that spread throughout the country in defiance of Communist authority. By the end of that August, in 1980, the Communist leader Edward Gierek—mindful that workers' rates had topped his predecessors in 1966 and 1970—made concessions to the Solidarity union movement that were unprecedented in the Soviet Bloc. Poland's workers won wage increases, new social benefits and greater freedom of expression. Now, after almost seven years in which Solidarity has been both an official partner and a determined agitator for more democracy, Wałęsa, provided the Gdańsk students with a modest assessment of the movement's accomplishments—and those inspired by Moscow's more recent reforms. Said Wałęsa: "We have gained so-called individual freedom—everyone can say whatever he wants." But, he added, "we are not allowed to join in groups."

In fact, the government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski has been negotiating with religious and academic leaders over proposals to prevent the formation of new advisory "associations." But government spokesman Jerzy Urbaniak has also made clear that these still-undefined groups will not be allowed to operate as political parties or independent unions. Solidarity, the government insists, belongs in the past, and there is no room in the Congress of state for divergent political organizations. But Wałęsa, whose crew has pressed in the past for free and democratic elections, told the Gdańsk students: "It is impossible to rule this country without pluralism."

Pure Plural democracy was not part of the reformist promises brought by the assassin of Mikail Gorbachev to the leadership of the Soviet party in March, 1985. But Gorbachev's policies of perestroika and glasnost offered Jaruzelski an opportunity to pursue reform and to dilute his doctrinaire opposition. The Polish leader embarked on an ambitious plan to decentralize decision-

making and introduce a market system. He put most factories on a self-financing basis and emphasized both private business and a reduction in subsidies for agriculture. Jaruzelski has made a state visit to Poland last month. Gorbachev helped press on Jaruzelski '85, telling his audience: "You are very lucky to have such a man at this complicated stage of Polish history—a man of high morality, of large intellectual capacities, who loves his country, is devoted and is a great internationalist."

Still, some elements of post-war cookie-cutter policies in Poland—the Poles call it—have encountered resistance in Poland. After years of low wages, shortages of food staples and long queues for available goods, Polish workers are unwilling to accept price increases that result from reduced subsidies on essentials. Indeed, last November, Polish voters rejected a program of economic reform and austerity in a national referendum. And after illegal strikes in April and May—the worst uprisings since the early 1960s—many workers won pay raises to match rising prices, which authorities admit

are still too high. Jaruzelski's 85-billion Eastern Bloc countries—continues to grow because high-interest savings do not cover the interest costs of \$3.6 billion annually.

Party Polish intellectuals and dissidents blame the country's Communist party for the slowdown, saying that it fears any loss of power through further democratization. And many workers complain that government-sponsored political reforms provide only cosmetic changes to an inefficient system. Moreover, they say that Poland's ability to undergo real change is severely constrained. And although Gorbachev assured Poles of their "sovereign rights" during his July visit, Wałęsa, for one, is unimpressed that the Kremlin has renounced the so-called Brezhnev doctrine of intervention in the affairs of Western Bloc countries. "If we revolted, they would use tanks against us," Wałęsa said last month. He added, "If tanks are not enough, then fraternal assistance will come to help."

—ANDREW ELBRE with BOGDAN TURK in Warsaw



Students in a lecture hall, Warsaw, Poland (below): 'against committee session'



Shopping lineup in Dragău, Romania (below): 'against committee session'

Darkness With The Speed Of Light



In Romania, some of the most tragic suffering is directed at citizens at President Nicolae Ceausescu and his powerful wife, Elena. The citizens are angered by such abuses as the Politburo's plan to raze 7,000 rural villages, replacing them with new "agricultural complexes." Since assuming power in 1965, Ceausescu has kept the country of 25 million in a neo-Stalinist stranglehold, crushing dissent while the economy staggers on corruption and inefficiency. Even in the capital, power shortages are commonplace and fresh food is often in short supply. In the words of one bitter Romanian, "Ceausescu spreads darkness with the speed of light."

CORRUPTION. With such a record, Romania should be a prime candidate for Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's program of restructuring, perestroika. But Ceausescu has rejected such reforms, instead favoring his belief in central planning and political control. During a visit in May by Soviet President Andrei Gromyko, the state-run Romanian media censored Gorbachev's speech to reveal all manner of personal shortcomings.

ROMANIA. Ceausescu's differences with Moscow over reform have only deepened a long-standing rift between the Communists and their neighbors. A maverick in the never-men-

ber Warsaw Pact military alliance, Ceausescu refuses to allow Soviet troops to be stationed in Romania. He brags ranks with the other pact members in their 1980 invasion of Czechoslovakia and again in 1989 by criticizing the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. He was the only Eastern Bloc leader to defy a Soviet-led boycott of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics.

His policies have made Ceausescu popular with Western leaders for the time. But in recent years, and especially of hardship and human-rights abuses in Romania, Western attitudes have hardened. In April, after persistent criticism in Washington of Ceausescu's erratic record, Ceausescu reversed most-favored-nation trading arrangements with the United States—an action that could end Romania's deadly if desperately export earnings.

DEBT. At the same time, the 70-year-old leader pursues an obsessive drive to reduce his country's foreign debt. Since 1982, Ceausescu has limited imports, restricted energy use and imposed much Romania's best goods and foodstuffs. The policy has succeeded in shrinking foreign debt to about \$4 billion from \$12 billion, but only at the cost of poverty at home. In winter, people are prodded by law fees boasting any residence above 18°C—as little as 15°C in some areas. A similar regulation imposes a limit of one 40-watt light bulb per room.

CONDITIONS. In the suffering countries are even worse. Western tourists who returned recently from the eastern region of Moldavia reported being harassed by undernourished children begging for food. In many regions, food rationing is in effect. Ceausescu's plan to demolish 1,500 Transylvanian villages has angered local ethnic Hungarians, who form the area's largest population group, and brought an unprecedented protest from the Hungarian government. Two other neighbors, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, have protested the pollution of the Danube River by Romanian factories.

Foreign visitors say that discontent with the Ceausescu regime is palpable, but few Romanians dare to speak out. The secret police's pervasive internal security service, keeps a close watch on dissidents. A riot in the central industrial city of Iași last November, the worst outbreak of anti-government sentiment in years, was quickly suppressed by authorities. The protest was organized and funded by parapublic Four," and registered Romanian writer Liviu Olteanu, last month. "Freedom is enforced against all of us, the pressure of force directed against common sense. It drives everyone into opposition."

SCENE. With Ceausescu holding out much hope of change unless Ceausescu dies or leaves office. And even then, diplomats say that Elena, 66, who sits with her husband as the country's most powerful Politburo and holds the post of first deputy chairman—might take over. Others say that Ceausescu favors his son, Nicolae, 36, a career party official, as his successor. A very job favored by Romanians: to suppress the depths of anti-Ceausescu feelings, a group of people waiting in line at an immigration office (opposite) as soon as Ceausescu appears in the name. "If he's leaving," says one, "we're going to stay."



—MARCUS GORE with ISABEL MASTROGIACOMO in Vienna

Prosperity Under Control



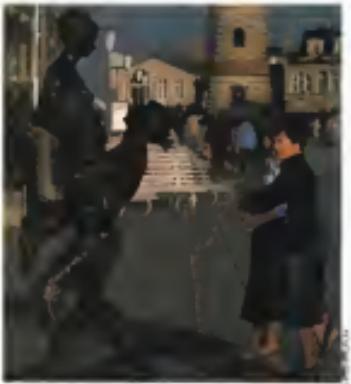
Bad weather chased vacationers from the seacoast in many parts of Europe last month. But on the beaches around Rostock, on the Baltic Sea, thousands of East Germans stayed to frolic despite gales and driving rain. Unlike their West German counterparts, who can afford to follow the sun to the South, East German vacationers had to take what accommodations were measured to offer.

That ingenuity has not yet led to open criticism of 75-year-old East German leader Erich Honecker, who presides over a prospering economy and one of the world's 20 leading industrial powers. Under his guidance, East Germany spends about one-fifth of its budget, in subsidies, everything from heating, food and clothing to vacation, culture and sport, in an effort to ensure that no one lacks what the regime deems essential to the good life. Such efforts have given the nation the highest standard of living in the Eastern Bloc. Health care is as good as any in the world, and day care services surpass most Western systems. Indeed, some Western analysts argue that Honecker is not entirely wrong to resist anglo-saxon Germanic free-market values because tempering could prove counterproductive.

Central Still, many East Germans say that they are emancipated by the government's resistance to sugar reforms. "This is the case, there is no getting around that," says Peter Klemmer, and Manfred Budge, a high official of the state-owned East German Evangelical Church. And others seem to be eager for official interference for granted—with no sense of political freedom. "What we object to is the state's 'middle-to-grow' control over its citizens' lives," said one East German office employee who did not want to be identified by name. "Anything that can change it will serve our side."

For now, these hopes are pinned on the possibility that Hesse might choose next year's 40th anniversary of the city's establishment on Oct. 7, 1959, to step down in favor of a younger, reform-minded leader. But that is only the ruling. Faltbauer appears to endorse Gorbachev's believability views, with the possible exception of Günter Schabowski, a former editor of *Neues Deutschland*, the party newspaper. Moreover, the final choice, observers say, will depend on whether Gorbachev favors a hard-line who will ensure that a visible East Germany remains Russia's friend, as well as a reformer cast in his own image. And although the vast majority of East Germans would prefer the second alternative, the time has not yet come for them to be consulted on that crucial matter.

— ANN PENLAKSON with PETER LEWIS in West Berlin



SEVER BRIEF IN WENDEMANDE. RONNEKAR (BENKE) SUBMITTED THIS



— ANN PELLEGRINI with PETER LEWIS in New York



Transdiscursive Space: Space as a Lived Experience. Chapter 12 (pp. 289-308). New York: Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9780203872702-12

Dangerous Islands Of Independence



At the western end of Prague's historic Charles Bridge, the most striking feature is an exquisitely beautiful city, a quiet square with a low, whitewashed wall. During protests over what they saw as a盖over of night to sound sirens pretending the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, but for the past several years, young Czechoslovaks have gone there for a different reason: they cover the wall with graffiti, poems and pictures纪念ing a man whom they regard with an almost cult-like reverence: John Lennon. And each Dec. 8, the anniversary of the rock star's murder in 1980, hundreds of young people crowd the square in a candlelight memorial. Prague police attempt to dislodge people from joining the crowd, and they regularly paint out the slogans on the wall and keep a strict watch on the square. But the graffiti keep reappearing. In Prague's rapidly modernizing atmosphere, the "John Lennon Wall" is a rare few opportunities for young Czechoslovaks to express independent views.

Danger By Western standards, such slogan as "Tough" or "I love John" say no obvious political meaning. But in Prague, where the situation from or virtually all independent public areas, they have a wider significance. "Our leaders are nervous of anything that they do not have under control," says Bohumir Janc, a leader of Charter 77, Czechoslovakia's most active dissident group. "Totalitarianism has a fundamental tendency to rule every tiny parson totally—so every little island of independence is seen as a danger."

Most Czechoslovakia, however, seek personal independence in a more private way. Only a handful actively support such groups as Charter 77. To do so would expose them to police surveillance, the loss of jobs or of educational opportunities—

and possibly just. For the majority, personal freedom began at 8 o'clock on Friday, when many offices and shops essay. Two or three thousand head up the Boudoir and head for the country-side. There, in thousands of tiny weekend chalets, Chambord-voisins create a sphere of personal enterprise—energetically digging at their garden plots or reconsidering their ru-

WORKERS FOR PLENTY WORK

lands
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standards of living, inefficiencies can result in sudden changes of essentials.

As a result, many Czechoslovak participants in the non-founding black market—and expand considerably by trying to obtain Western exchange. Foreigners are appealed with requests to exchange Western money for Czechoslovak koruna at twice the official exchange rate—since most skilled Western goods can be bought only in state stores that accept hard currency in Prague restaurants, even packages of Western cigarettes are accepted more eagerly than Czechoslovak money as fare.

Task. The same task took him in to overthrow this uprising is Michel Joliet, general secretary of the Cominco-Industries Communist party mass unit. December, Joliet, 66, began his working course in 1957 as an electrician in a local factory run by the British family of the same name. In 1960 he moved to Canada. A Communist since 1956, he is closely associated with former leaders who collaborated with the Soviets in 1968 to smash the analytical reform program introduced by then-party leader Alexander Dubcek.

Western diplomats and others in Prague de-
sakal—who is married, with two grown sons—as a
full, colorless career manager. Spokesmen for dissident
groups are more dissident. As long as Jakes and his asso-
ciates hold the leading positions in Czechoslovakia's Commu-
nist party, they maintain the party's official position that the
invasion was justified to prevent a revolution of capital-
ism. A lesson certainly not to be learned. And there is virtually
nothing that the type of political openness now seen in
civic will soon come to Prague.

104004 PHILLIPS in Private

Images And Expectations

On a sultry summer Saturday, construction workers sit in the afternoon sun, building another block of luxury apartments on the banks of Budapest's fatherly River Danube (Ross Hill). With their red-tiled roofs, the new houses in the beautiful hills on the right bank of the Danube are reminiscent of up-market residential developments anywhere in the West. On the other side of the river, tourists crowd the city's fashionable shopping strip, Vaci Utca, gazing at glass windows jammed with expensive, high-quality goods. And around the corner, teenagers indistinguishable from their Western counterparts cross the Budapest branch of McDonald's—the first in the Eastern Bloc—where a Big Mac, french fries and soft drink are a bargain at \$1.70. Visitors to the Hungarian capital are struck by the city's striking glass of prosperity—meaning a large-scale advertisement for market-oriented socialism. But for most of its two million residents, making ends meet has become much harder in the past year.

With inflation running at an annual rate of 17 per cent, government economists acknowledge that real wages will drop this year by an average of nine per cent. Many Hungarians already hold down two or three jobs—combining an official day job with part-time work after hours and dabbling in the country's flourishing black market. The scale of that unofficial economy—which includes everything from unlicensed street vendors to construction workers building condominiums on weekends—is unknown. But economists estimate that it accounts for up to 30 per cent of national production.

Hungarians By Eastern European standards, Hungarians enjoy an enviable lifestyle. On a blazing summer day, topless women sunbathers crowd the beach at the southern tip of Margaret Island in the middle of the Danube, shattering the image of a prudish socialist society. And compared with people in other Eastern European societies, Hungarians have considerable personal liberty. They are free to travel to the West—though they must obtain the necessary hard currency. This year, many are joining with neighbours in buying mobile dasher, on which they can receive three Western European

as TV channels in several languages. One, RAY channel, carries daily news and feature programming from Toronto's independent station CTV-TV.

That is one aspect of Hungary's relatively open social climate—but it also fuels resentment that Hungarians' living standards are much lower than those in neighboring Austria. Says one Western resident of Budapest: "Hungarians do not compare themselves to Czechs or Poles—or to the Soviets. They have historic ties with Austria, and they want to live just like people there do."

Changes. The challenge for Hungary's government, led by 36-year-old Prime Minister Károly Gélen, is to deal with those aspirations while preserving Hungarians' resolve to make the economy more competitive. Gélen scored a public-relations triumph last month during an 11-day visit to the United States and Canada. Some observers compared his open, frank style to that of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and began talking of "Gélenovit"—a play on the well-known Russian word for openness, *glasnost*.

But domestically, Gélen's critics are more skeptical. They point out that he spent much of his career manipulating the news media to create a favorable political image. They also note that Gélen, who signed aside 36-year-old Ákos Kézler to become general secretary of Hungary's Socialist Workers' (Communist) Party in May, was identified in the late 1970s with the conservative wing of the party. "Gélen is simply an ambitious, unprincipled politician," said Miklós Haraszti, an editor of the unofficial journal *Az Művész*. "He will make just enough political changes to make possible the economic reforms he wants. But he is not a reformer at heart."

Changes. But Gélen has created expectations among Hungarians that economic change will be accompanied by a more open political structure. Says Budapest economist Márta Tardos: "You cannot expect people to make sacrifices without something in return. But the question is: why should people trust a government that has so badly managed the economy in the past 10 years?" Gélen's difficult task is to gain that kind of trust.



Budapest railway station, Görbe (above), looking west

—ANDREW PHILLIPS • Getty

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BULGARIA

A Grudging Form Of *Glasnost*



For the past five years, many residents of Ruse, an industrial city in northeastern Bulgaria, have routinely awakened choking and spitting because of chlorine gas escapees from a chemical plant across the Danube River in neighboring Romania. Some tried to move away, but Bulgarian authorities refused to let them. Cases of lung disease increased dramatically. The numbers of expert witnesses who witnessed also rose. Then, last February, about 2,000 people took to the streets in protest, and local workers—taking advantage of the Bulgarian version of *glasnost*—began reporting on the issue. But the government quashed the independent environmental movement and fired several top officials because of their connection with the protest. Said one Western European diplomat in Sofia: "The message appears to be that power is all very well—but please don't speak up or express concern and controlled by those in power."

When Bulgarians traditionally regarded as the blue's most ardent follower of the Kremlin line, is lagging behind in curbing Moscow's new wave of reforms. Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov, 80—who with 34 years in power is the longest-serving Communist head of state—but publicly endorsed major changes but carried out only modest ones at best. And opposing his entrenched leadership has proven politically who was regarded as a possible successor to Mihailov, was summarily dismissed from his position on the Central party Central Committee—reportedly for advancing were sweeping reforms. And while the Bulgarian press is exposing an unprecedented measure of free and open direct initiatives of the government in a still not tolerated. "We can't pack up and go overnight," said Ivan Kostov, a foreign ministry spokesman in charge of the Warsaw Pact countries. "A grudgingly is needed in Bulgaria. But we are doing our best to avoid another a face-lift."

Bulgaria's best factories are found in Sofia, the capital city. Its buildings are broad and clean. Its sidewalks packed with well-dressed young people, its shop windows full of goods. Its ready clothing. Better tourists arrive in large numbers to enjoy what they consider to be a consumer paradise. But in terms of political and social reforms, it is the Bulgarians who watch the Soviet Union under Bulgarian viewers follow Moscow's changes on a TV channel beamed in live from the

Soviet Union, and Soviet newspapers sell out instantly. But Bulgarians are still reluctant to talk to foreigners because they must report all such contacts to the police.

Right Bulgaria's human rights record is also still clouded. In 1984, the government launched a concerted campaign to force the roughly one million ethnic Turks—about one-tenth of the nation's total population—to renounce by adopting Bulgarian names. Human rights organizations claim that hundreds of Turks were killed in the process. Turkish schools and publications are still banned. As well, most dissidents have been forced to emigrate or



Some market, Zhivkov (below) "doing our best to give socialism a face-lift"

have been banished into internal exile in remote villages. But one dissident—in exile, speaking privately in London—"They don't still just. They just make the intolerable."

Economic changes have profound effects. Foreign business sources say that deals in the making for years are finally being completed. The attempts to reform agriculture appear to have taken, but rural land policies have mostly been reversed, with better terms returning back to the state.

People There are no indications that Bulgaria's wave of change will peak in 1989. Zhivkov had been growing his daughter, Ludmila Zhivkova, to replace him, but she died unexpectedly in 1984. The official cause was leukemia, although rumors persist that the Soviets, angered by her expressed desire for more independence, had a hand in her death. A suit, based on her memory, accusations her in an effort never enjoyed by her father. Simeon—ensconced in his palatial home on the outskirts of Sofia—appears to be firmly in control, presiding over his own brand of grueling *glasnost*.



—BOB LEVINE with SUE WALTERMAN in Sofia

Dependence And Suspicion

Even in the era of glasnost, it was a controversial assertion in a speech to Communist party members at a congress in early 1986, less than a year after he took power. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev made his first public reference to relations with other socialist countries. Declared Gorbachev: "We do not see the diversity of our movement as a synonym for division, much as unity has nothing in common with uniformity—or the striving of any party to have a monopoly over what is right." That remark, from the leader of a nation that had intervened militarily over the years to put down internal rebellions in allied Communist countries—East Germany in 1953, Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968—was greeted skeptically by many observers. Declared one Moscow-based Western diplomat: "At the time, it sounded like *ga-ga-on-the-sky nonsense*." But, he added, "today, it is a little more possible to believe him."

Trooper: After three years of life under Gorbachev, Soviet relations with other Eastern Bloc countries have become a curious blend of dependence and suspicion. The Soviet Union remains the largest trading partner—and consumer market—of each of the other six Eastern Bloc countries. At the same time, Moscow's influence in the region is diminishing as a result of new Soviet policies emphasizing increased internal production. But while the so-called Soviet satellites are allowed increasing control of their internal politics, an estimated 650,000 Soviet troops are still stationed in all of those nations except Romania. And, despite the apparent strength of the Warsaw Pact, many Soviet officers privately doubt whether other Eastern European troops would be loyal to them in battle.

That ambivalence is reflected in the attitude of average Soviet citizens toward their allied European neighbors. Many Soviets line up for hours at shops when such highly sought-after items as Bulgarian apples and tomato juice, Hungarian chicken and Polish leather products are available. In public, Soviet officials treat their counterparts from Western European countries with elaborate politeness, sometimes beginning and ending the same sentence with the word *ourselves* (ourselves). But Eastern Bloc journalists, journalists and business executives, like their Western counterparts, are allowed to live in apartment blocks that are reserved for foreigners, surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by police sentries. And privately, many Soviets look upon other Eastern Europeans

with disdain, claiming that any successes experienced by them result from Soviet generosity.

Lavish: Until recently, that generosity was a unifying force. From the early 1950s, the Soviets exported oil and gas to their allies under long-term contracts at lower prices than those available from non-Soviet countries—a practice estimated to have net Moscow more than \$30 billion in addition during the 15 years through 1984. As well, because Eastern European members of the Warsaw Pact, unlike the Soviet Union, do not have other foreign currencies, it was easier for Eastern Bloc countries to deal with one another. Now, as decline in world oil prices, coupled with an end to Moscow's export subsidies, has removed an important Soviet economic lever with its neighbors.

But the Kremlin will not fully relinquish its role as



Meetings: (Left, from left) Gorbachev, Janacek, Ceausescu, Giscard, Zhivkov, Gruber at Warsaw summit. (Below)

the central decision-making force of Eastern Europe. Some observers say that Gorbachev's present policy of noninterference arises largely from his preoccupation with severe domestic problems. And that his policy has yet to be tested seriously by any official defiance of communist doctrine in the satellites.

Classical: Indeed, Gorbachev's conservative second-in-command, Yegor Ligachev, warned in an Aug. 3 speech to party members in Gorky that "new thinking" could undermine the communist tradition of having foreign policy on class interests and "new confusion among our friends abroad." He condemned strikes and demonstrations—Soviet, in a speech last year, Ligachev declared: "It used to be said that the orchestra was conducted by Moscow, and that everybody else listened. That is no longer the case." For the residents of other Eastern European countries, that is a novel—and most welcome—reform.

—ANTHONY WILSON SHREEVE in Moscow



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MANAGEMENT

Canada's critical ceasefire mission

In a snowdrift-studded hangar at Canadian Forces Base Petawawa, Ont., 370 km west of Ottawa, a crew of 160 ground crew and 120 airmen have been working around the clock for the past week to complete preparations for a major winter exercise. Moving from desk to desk, they updated their wills and pay records, reviewed their flight and duty rosters, checked for medical clearances and made sure there was enough fuel in the tanks to get them to their next destination. "It's been a nonstop 24 hours," says Capt. Steve Lusk, 37, a flight engineer who has been involved in the planning of the exercise since he joined the Canadian Forces in 1985. "There's a lot of work to be done, but we're all here to do our best to make sure the exercise goes off without a hitch." The exercise, known as "Operation Northern Edge," is a joint military exercise involving the Canadian Forces and the U.S. Army. It is designed to test the ability of both forces to respond to a variety of emergency situations, such as natural disasters or terrorist attacks. The exercise will involve a range of activities, including search and rescue, medical evacuation, and the delivery of supplies to remote areas. The exercise is set to begin on January 15, 2018, and will last for approximately two weeks. The Canadian Forces will be represented by a team of 160 personnel, including 120 airmen and 40 ground crew. The U.S. Army will be represented by a team of 120 personnel, including 80 soldiers and 40 support staff. The exercise will be conducted in a simulated environment, with participants using realistic equipment and scenarios to test their skills and knowledge. The exercise is intended to help both forces prepare for potential future challenges and to strengthen their working relationship. The Canadian Forces and the U.S. Army have a long history of cooperation and have conducted joint exercises in the past. This exercise is the latest in a series of joint military exercises between the two countries. The exercise is expected to be a success and will help both forces to better prepare for potential future challenges.

cented vaccinations and dental checkups, and shopped with the shahs. All were members of the 350-man unit that will provide radio representatives for the United Nations observers assigned to oversee the ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq war. But in the pre-departure press, the reporters talked less about the merits of their mission than about the extra pay they would receive: \$50 a month for a first-time passenger, \$100 for those with experience in other world trouble spots. Most of the money will be deposited directly into their bank accounts at home. "We only need enough for beer," said one reporter.

"We've got enough," he said and whisky dollars [pronounced] "and another," he said, another. "Not the same whisky dailies over there. Touch one of those women and you're a bandit."

But for all the caution, there was no denying the potential dangers ahead. And Capt. John Vipit, 49, an engineer for the region of strengthened buildings known as *Brasilia*. Indeed, so many celebrities were shooting gags in the air over



told MacLean's that the penitentiary minute is "very much a Canadian effort."

What makes this particularly true is the role of the communications units, which is larger than the observer force itself. At an Ottawa news conference, Defence Minister Perrin Beatty said that the Canadian unit—officially called the 88 Communications Squadron—had signed on for a two-year six-month assignment, at a cost of \$3 million. It consists of 250 men from Petawawa and another 120 from other Canadian bases and from the reserves. The squadron is headed by nearly another 115 officers flying to the empire in a support capacity.

Ball, and Gen. John J. Mulcahy, who is helping to organize it. It will be a full truck with giant antitankers in all, plus radio, telephone gear. At present, soldiers worked out the equipment into top shape, there's no hurry for antitankers. Gen. Ball, of Montreal, is coming into Canada for it and it's

and, the US observer to the IAEA, will relay a portable radiodetector around 100 km to Canadian posts 5 to 10 km from Canadian and the nearest IAEA posts in Tokaim, which transmit them to headquarters City. After the permanent posts had Canadian

pected to lay
one, which as far
as I am concerned
is the best way to
do it. For protection
against gas attacks we
will carry only
gas masks—
in view of documented
gas attacks in the
above areas and gas masks
are plentiful. That this would
not be popular with Macmillan, "but we feel
it is a prudent measure."

At the same time, there were no guarantees that the ceasefire would hold. Two days after Párven de Caillaux's announcement, Iran reported that Iraq had violated its air space. And a day later, the Iraqis alleged that the Iranians had fired tank shells at Iranian targets on the southern front. The Iranian government, however, did not press its case to cover the way to war.

After pairs of a seemingly static war in the fixed ground fighting and total bombardments known as the "war of the cities", Iraqi forces suddenly broke through and sprung with a series of decisive victories. In addition, the Iranian war effort was plagued by a shattered economy, a demoralized population and the ill health of Supreme Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the spiritual leader who in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution last month, Khomeini called acceptance of the UN ceasefire resolution "more deadly to me than poison"—but accepted it nonetheless.

Meanwhile, officials expressed hope that the cascade would lead to the release of 100 Americans and their British relatives currently held in Lebanon by pro-Iranian radicals. Last week in London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, conferred with a senior Iranian foreign ministry official about the fate of Terry Waite, the Church of England priest who was released from an Iranian prison in January.

U.S. policy found itself in desperate financial straits. Press de Colbier says that the U.S. has been unable to raise the \$100 million it needs to finance its military operation in Lebanon. Washington has been trying to get its European allies to contribute to the cost of the operation, but is succeeded in providing one-quarter of its operating budget, over \$800 million in regard regular data, plus \$75 million for peacekeeping efforts. The Reagan administration, however, facing an enormous budget deficit—claims that it will not pay the \$85 billion needed for just next year alone unless the U.S. agrees to cap its own spending. And last week, Richard Secord, an assistant U.S. secretary of state, told the American press which have the most to gain from peace in the Persian Gulf, should pay a large percentage of the \$80-billion bill for the peacekeeping operation.



Clases de Cálculos matemáticos avanzados: resumen

87, while trying to arrange the release of hostages there in addition, British diplomat David Reddaway flew to Tehran to discuss the hostages and, according to some officials, to pave the way for the replacement of full British diplomatic staff with Tehran.

for the US, the massive arrangement helped to burnish the world administration's image. Written off by some critics as an increasingly irrelevant and ineptuous collection of pettifoggers, the US has rebranded itself as a vigorous champion not only of Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf but southern Africa as well. East Asia, South Africa, Angola and Cuba joined US as immediate focus in eastern Angola and neighbouring Namibia. At the same time, Pretoria accepted the Resolution 665 calling for elections and independence of Namibia.

to peace. Greek and Turkish leaders in Geneva—where German peacekeeping forces have been serving since 1964—met in Geneva on Aug. 25 to discuss their long-standing dispute. And last week, the two presented the Greek government with a plan to end its war with Patriotic Front guerrillas over control of the former Spanish colony of Western Sahara.

But at its time of triumph, the war had itself in desperate financial straits. Presses de Ceffel says that the rebels' budget for 1979 was \$100 million. In November—about the time Washington was paying its warheads—the United States, which not only is host to the headquarters but is committed to providing one-quarter of its operating costs, over \$80 million in unpaid regular dues, plus \$7 million for peacekeeping efforts. The Reagan administration, however, facing an enormous budget deficit—claims that it will not exceed \$82 billion for the fiscal year—wants to cause the UN to agree to cut its spending. And last week, Richard Holbrooke, an assistant U.S. secretary, argued that Arab countries, which have the most to gain from peace in the region, should pay a larger percentage of the \$86-million bill for the war.

to buy permanent peace in the region. At the Geneva talks, Iranian and Israeli negotiators will have to overcome mutual distrust. Still, talks, though last week, Iranian officials admitted that Iraq — which began the war in September, 1980, by invading Iran in an attempt to seize the strategic Shatt al-Arab waterway — had been defeated in the long conflict. The two sides will also face the difficult task of defining the boundary between them. But even with such formidable obstacles ahead, the Canadian and Israeli peacekeepers began their negotiations this week with the knowledge that, after eight years of grisly warfare, peace was at least a start.

OB LEVIN with MARK CLARK at CPS



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German beer
really is
a German beer.

Beck's.

Easy to say.
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No wonder
the world's number one
imported German beer
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Bush's 'silver foot'

CAMPAGNERS



In New Orleans's ornate, Louisiana State Convention Center this week's Republican National Convention was settling into place. The three-ton blue drapes screening off half the 50,000-seat football stadium had been arranged to create a sense of intimacy for the 4,000 delegates and alternates at the start of the convention on Aug. 15. And Washington producer Mark Gruen had exerted a last-minute panic when country singer Crystal Gayle—scheduled to open *America the Beautiful* for the Aug. 18 finale—cancelle

d for emergency surgery. Gruen hastily recruited singer-actress Shirley Jones to fill the breach. But as Republicans and media personnel poured in for the four-day extravaganza, the atmosphere of the show was still taking shape hundreds of miles away. In an unannouncing study of the kitchen of his home in a Washington suburb, former White House speech writer Peggy Noonan was crafting the closing address that analysts agreed would be the most important speech of Vice-President George Bush's career. Even Bush's staunchest supporters admitted that the prime-time address, accepting his party's nomination, represented perhaps his last best chance to establish a positive image for an election new less than three months away.

For Bush, the task was daunting. Not only did he need to outperform his Democratic rival, Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis, but he also had to make sure that he was not overwhelmed by the opening-night rhetoric of his returning hero, Ronald Reagan. Still, many Republicans worried that Bush's greatest danger at the podium lay not in competition with Reagan or Dukakis but in his own bluntness of verbal expression. As syndicated conservative columnists Richland Evans and Robert Novak put it

late last year, "His tongue gets him in trouble every other time he says it."

Four years ago, a successful bid for the Republican nomination in 1988, Bush had tested his traveling radio campaign with glibly syntax, damping off-the-cuff moments and outright blunders. In Washington two weeks ago, Bush started a group of Republicans, leaders with his view: "I will never apologize for the United States of America—I don't care what the facts are." Asked by a reporter



Bush in Arizona before his speech, the elusive common touch

just May 16, how he planned to address the drug problem, Bush replied, "I'm going to come out with my own drug problem." The 65-year-old celebrated blunder occurred at a Republican rally in Twin Falls, Idaho, that same month. Reporting his years with Reagan, he said, "I have had triumphs, we've made mistakes, we've had successes." An shocked silence descended, and he quickly corrected himself to say, "We have had setbacks." But as he joked later, "I feel like a goalie throwing who who over the coin toss and elected to retire."

Bush is aware of his verbal problem. "I don't always articulate," he told New Hampshire voters last February, "but I always do feel." Since then, he has received coaching from his chief media

director, Roger Allen Betz, after helping the vice-president leave his ready room and show his breathless delivery, even Allen could not prevent him from subduing a key interview with ABC's Ted Koppel. But it's going by repeatedly calling Bush "Bush" that's the "Bush" that's sort of got all burred in

Last week, Bush protested that "I've been talking the same way for many years, so it can't be that serious." But several of his statements have provoked consequences that make many Republicans uneasy when they think of him as president. In May, 1986, his comments opposing U.S. intervention in energy markets—directly contradicting Treasury Secretary James Baker's international monetary accord—and the dollar policymaking. Dukakis has repeatedly cited Bush's vacuous 1981 tour to then-Philippines dictator Ferdinand Marcos—"We have your adherence to democratic principles"—to rebuff his rival's claim to possess sound foreign policy judgment. And after a trip to Poland last October, Bush

insured the wrath of U.S. networkers when—told of the efficacy of a Soviet tank assembly line—replied, "Send them to Detroit because we could use that kind of ability."

Such words and barks are remembered by the electorate, when Bush's personal qualities are much more important. In a friend World War II, we recollect on a decorated navy pilot and his loyalty to friends—more overvalued than for Bush, those verbal missteps have proven costly. Analytic blunders in 1980 probably lost him in part to the lost crew of the Challenger space shuttle. Over recent weeks, Noonan has seen Bush top-scored deaths of his conventional speech on a fantastical transmission that sits at the kitchen counter next to her baby's playpen. Campaign officials clearly hoped that Noonan's work setting would impress an audience friendly to the vital New Orleans address, catapulting Bush to a lead over Dukakis in the spring polls. Indeed, as Bush clutchess himself in his New Orleans hotel room to penance with a Teleprompter, his aides are agonizing over Noonan's words to extricate him from what he once described to the *Wall Street Journal* as "deep doo-doo."

Bush contradiction

On Aug. 16, 1988, George H.W. Bush, then a candidate for president, spoke at a campaign rally in Phoenix. In the speech, he contradicted himself by referring to his own earlier comments on the U.S. role in the Persian Gulf. The contradiction was widely noted and criticized.

Opponents also argue much of Bush's awkwardness is his attempt to hide the signs of his patriotic upbringing as the son of a wealthy U.S. senator. Arranging the campaign couch with a recovering drug addict at a Newark, N.J., treatment

centre last May, Bush asked him, "Did you go through a withdrawal thing?" And in down, farmers still joke about Bush's explanation that many people had been too busy to vote for him in the state's February caucuses because "they were on their daughter's mailing-out

After Bush's humiliating loss defeat, radio speech writer Noonan—an attractive, blond 36-year-old who had recently given birth to her first child—had been assigned to pen new words in the vice-president's speech. Noonan had been responsible for some of Noonan's most peerless flights of rhetoric, notably his tribute to the lost crew of the Challenger space shuttle. Over recent weeks, Noonan has seen Bush top-scored deaths of his conventional speech on a fantastical transmission that sits at the kitchen counter next to her baby's playpen. Campaign officials clearly hoped that Noonan's work setting would impress an audience friendly to the vital New Orleans address, catapulting Bush to a lead over Dukakis in the spring polls. Indeed, as Bush clutchess himself in his New Orleans hotel room to penance with a Teleprompter, his aides are agonizing over Noonan's words to extricate him from what he once described to the *Wall Street Journal* as "deep doo-doo."

—MARK MCDONALD in Washington

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Demonstrators in Rangoon: poverty, political oppression and a food crisis

BURMA

The power of the poor

The protest in the streets of Rangoon, Burma's decrepit capital, began peacefully enough. Thousands of demonstrators marched in orderly columns carrying red banners and calling the military-backed Socialist government to give way to democracy. But just before midnight as Aug. 6, after standing amidst all day, the security forces opened fire with 13-gauge shotguns on a crowd that refused to disperse. With that began a week of violent clashes that spread throughout the country. And as week's end, with casualties mounting daily, recently installed President Sein Lwin abruptly announced his resignation—plunging the country into further uncertainty.



Sein Lwin

Unlike previous protests, which were dominated by students, last week's demonstrations were joined by Burmese from all walks of life. Buddhist monks, women, even children. And the unrest affected almost every part of the country. In the northern town of Bagain, 10 people were killed attacking a police station. In the southern town of Kowmien, soldiers and police forced to flee after protesters seized the town hall, the post office, a police station, and the customs office. In another town, soldiers

were reported to have stood by, allowing thousands of protesters to march through the streets unchallenged.

The violence was most severe in Rangoon, where street battles raged all week despite the imposition of martial law and an 8 p.m.-to-6 a.m. curfew. Visitors saw soldiers in armored cars and trucks chasing groups of protesters through the streets, some of them wearing masks and carrying metal bars and sticks. Some rioters built barricades across the deserted boulevards, while others looted news shops and burned police buildings. On the worst day of rioting, Aug. 10, at least 35 people were killed, and sisters beheaded three policemen.

By week's end, the state-run media said that at least 86 people had been killed throughout the country and hundreds arrested in the uprising—the most since the military seized power in 1962. But Anthony Viscusi, Canada's ambassador to Burma, claimed that "a conservative and reasonable estimate" of dead was closer to 1,000. Viscusi, who is based in Bangkok, but managed to visit Burma last week, described the situation in Rangoon as "quite terrible" for a great city, with no traffic on the street."

—NANCY GEE with correspondence from

The rage of the protesters had been building for years. A resource-rich land with a generally well-educated population, Burma descended into paralytic after a 1962 military coup led by Gen. Ne Win. Under Ne Win's so-called Burmese Way to Socialism, all ethnic groups restricted contact and trade with the outside world and banned most private enterprise. As a result, the once-thriving Asian country has enjoyed rapid economic growth. Burma has a per capita annual income of only \$320, ranking as one of the world's 10 poorest nations. At the same time, Burma, once a major rice exporter, is no longer able to feed its own people because of agricultural mismanagement and an inadequate food distribution system. And in the past eight months alone, the price of rice has risen by 400 percent.

Anti-government riots in March and June forced Ne Win to resign last month, but his choice of a successor only heightened popular anger. Sein Lwin, a hard-line who directed the ruthless suppression of the March riots, had been widely regarded as one of the most hated men in the country. Demonstrators in Rangoon last week denounced him as "dog," "butcher" and "Nazi."

Burman radio gave no explanation

for Sein Lwin's resignation as president and chairman of the ruling Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) after just 37 days in office. But it said that a special meeting of the party's central committee and the national parliament would be held on Aug. 13—at which time a replacement might be chosen. In Rangoon, diplomats said that Ne Win would be expected to play a key role in the leadership crisis and that it attempts to soothe public grievances over the killing of mostly unarmed civilians, rice shortages and rights abuses.

Still, observers said that it was

unclear whether Sein Lwin's resignation meant that the government was

preparing to accede to demands for

democracy and economic liberalization. The day before the announcement, Prime Minister Tan Tin said that the government would act swiftly to introduce economic reforms in boom living conditions—as soon as the violence stopped. The government will withdraw subsidies and further raising. Tourists returning from Burma last week said that almost everyone they met had expressed distaste, and often hatred, for the BSPP regime. Indeed, after 30 years of poverty and repression, it may be too late to prevent further widespread violence.



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A WORLD OF CANADIAN TECHNOLOGY

Fighting for a landmark

From the beginning, the strange saga and bizarre cast of characters have scandalized the patriciated British business world.

Three years ago, mysterious Egyptian financier Mohamed Al-Fayed touched off the most sensational business war in recent British history when he bought shares of Harrods Ltd., the parent company of London's world-renowned Harrods department store, from under the nose of flamboyant British industrialist Robert (Big) Rowland. Since then, the feud has cost the centenarian millions of dollars in legal fees and has generated hundreds of newspaper headlines. It has also inspired a remarkable series of other participants, including the Sultan of Brunei, reportedly one of the richest men on earth, and a controversial Ecuadorian mystic. And now the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher is also about to be drawn into the fray.

Early next month, the United Kingdom's department of trade and industry is scheduled to release the results of its 15-month inquiry into the background of Al-Fayed's acquisition of Harrods, which owns Harrods and another 75 department stores throughout Britain. The report's contents and recommendations have been closely guarded by DTI officials. But Maclean's has learned that the report will be much more sensational than originally thought. Some analysts say that it will criticize the circumstances surrounding the takeover, including the conduct of officials with the investment firm Kleinwort Benson. London Daily Mail, who acted as advisors to Al-Fayed during the takeover and who were instrumental in providing the credibility needed for the outsiders' bid to succeed. As well, the report is also expected to be critical of the conduct and vigilance of the British government during the takeover—and that could lead to a reappraisal of Britain's entire system for regulating takeovers.

der Al-Fayed to sell off his House of Fraser holdings. And that could mean that Rowland and his company, Lanser PLC, might have some clauses to buy the House of Fraser, which he says has been coveted since 1977. Another observer, including Andrew Bligh, an analyst with London brokerage house House Gossart Ltd, says that it is unlikely that Al-Fayed will be forced to sell out. And meanwhile, Al-Fayed has already sold 8% of the chain's stores in catalog repairs and has made significant management changes since taking control. He says that he will never give up the company. Regardless of what the much-anticipated government report states, he says that he is confident he will remain in control. Said Al-Fayed: "There is no way I'd sell Harrods. It will be in my family for 1,000 years. I know that, and so does Tony Rowland."



Monopolies and Mergers Commission ruled that a takeover by Learro was not in the public interest because it would limit competition. In 1983, Learro, which had two members on Harrods' board of directors, even attempted unsuccessfully to have Harrods sold off as a separate company. That would have allowed Bowland and Lonsdale to buy it through the stock market.

It was Rawland himself who handed control of House of Fraser to Al-Fayed in September, 1984, lawyers acting for the then-relatively unknown Al-Fayed understood that he was making an offer. Rawland, his own plans for control delayed by the earlier management buyout, decided to sell his 29.9-percent stake to Al-Fayed for a \$154-million price. Rawland said that Al-Fayed lacked the financial influence to follow through with his takeover plans. And Rawland added that it was unlikely the British government would give a foreigner the go-ahead to take control of the country's most famous store. But Rawland was wrong on both counts.

After Louros said his shares to Al-Fayed, the department of trade reversed its 1985 ruling against Louros, clearing the way for anyone to try to take over the company. Minister of Trade Norman Tebbit then waved the Al-Fayed bid through in an unusually speedy 10 days. And in March 1986, the Egyptian bought control of the company as the open market for an additional 50% went down.

Since then, a bitter Bowland has been waging a propaganda war of epic proportions against Al-Fayed. Bowland has privately published a long diatribe outlining what he referred to as Al-Fayed's 30-year history of questionable business practices. As well, The Observer, a liberal-leaning Sunday newspaper owned by Leesha, has published several reports stating that crucial emails Al-Fayed made

at his background and wealth were exaggerated. The *Observer* and *Review* of have also commented that Al-Fayed borrowed the money to buy the house of Fraser from the Sultan of Brunei, for whom Al-Fayed has acted as business adviser and financial spokesman. Rowland claims to hold the tape in the form of a legal conservation between Al-Fayed and a unnamed New Zealand Gandhi. He had first introduced Al-Fayed to the Indian Rowland says that the tape—she was arrested in New York—had fraud charges against him and the tapes to Rowland for \$1 million. Meanwhile, the sultan has steadfastly denied that Al-Fayed borrowed his money to buy House of Fraser. Al-Fayed's response to the charges is unequivocal: "I am a very lucky man. Of course I had the



При подаче заявки для выдачи санкт.

that the funds for the House of Commons purchase came from private business operations in Switzerland. But during the past 18 months, OTI inspectors have been examining the records travelled by the funds that were used to make the acquisition, going through Al-Fayed's bank accounts and paying particular attention to the timing of each of the transactions. In any event, there seems little doubt that criticism castigated in the upcoming report will add still further to Tony Blair's accusations. And the nasty corporate fight could well become a full-blown political scandal for the British government.

— 2002 DEMURE with SUSAN MOLIAN in
London

A jewel in the crown

It is the highest price ever paid for a publishing company and the boldest step in a three-year series of acquisitions worth about \$30 billion. Last week, Australian born media magnate Rupert Murdoch announced that he had agreed to purchase *Reader's Digest*, a U.S.-based magazine publisher. For \$1.2 billion, Murdoch's worldwide media empire includes more than 150 publishing and broadcasting ventures in eight countries. The *Triangle* deal will give him control of *TV Guide*, the long-circulating weekly magazine in the United States, as well as the *Daily Racing Form*, a digest for people who bet on horse races, and *Seventeen*, a fashion magazine for young women. Declared Murdoch: "We plan to make the cornerstone of a great American publishing company."

Murdoch's *Reader's Digest*, Australia-based News Corp. Ltd. was already carrying a \$4.1-billion debt before last week's dramatic announcement. Despite *Triangle's* 1987 profit of nearly \$100 million in revenues of \$600 million, Murdoch said that he will have to sell either some News Corp. or some *Triangle* assets to finance the deal. Nevertheless, analysts expressed concern that the purchase will reduce competition in the media industry, through *TV Guide*, with a U.S. circulation of about 1.7 million, Murdoch—owner of the Fox Broadcasting Co. and six U.S. television stations—will



Offices of *TV Guide*. Reader's Digest's bolded acquisition to date

control the nation's prime source of news about television. The Canadian edition of *TV Guide* is domestically owned and will not be affected by the Murdoch purchase.

The international deal was negotiated over five weeks by just three men: Murdoch, New York City investment banker John Veronis and *Triangle* owner Walter Ansbacher, 86, the well-known philanthropist. Veronis told Murdoch that Ansbacher telephoned him on July 5 and told him he wanted to sell *Triangle* to him. Two days later, and on July 9, the three sat down together for the first time at Ansbacher's home, just outside Philadelphia. The deal was concluded in

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—KAREN DALY

Swallowed by a giant

WITH its blue-chip corporate clients and its attachment to the federal Liberal party, Toronto-based MacLennan Advertising is one of Canada's largest and most prestigious domestically owned advertising agencies. MacLennan's loss to the U.S.-scale data from the mid-1980s, when Lester B. Pearson was prime minister. The company has created the "No Trouble Guidelines" television commercials for Toronto-based Imperial Oil Ltd. and "The taste that will stop you cold" ad campaign for

Toronto-based Molson Breweries of Canada Ltd. But last week, MacLennan president Anthony Miller announced that the 50-year-old company has been sold for an undisclosed price to New York City-based advertising giant Lippincott Worldwide. Industry analysts estimate that the deal is worth \$40 million to MacLennan shareholders.

The sale of MacLennan is the latest in a series of takeovers of prominent Canadian advertising agencies by larger American firms. Last year, Chicago-based Foote, Cone & Belding Advertising Ltd. bought Rossdale-Reynolds Ltd. of Toronto. The merged *Foote, Cone & Belding* became Canada's largest ad agency, with 1987 bill-

ings of nearly \$100 million. Lippincott Worldwide will merge MacLennan with its Canadian subsidiary to create a new company called MacLennan-Lippincott Inc. Miller and Dan MacLennan, executives will run the agency, which is expected to become Canada's largest, with annual billings exceeding \$300 million. But David Martin, chairman of the Canadian advertising association, argued that the party he had a yen for using Canadian ad agencies. He added that MacLennan had already been reduced as part of the advertising team for the next federal election but that the decision is now under review as a result of the sale.

—SPARCK DENNIS

A publisher with a golden touch

By Peter C. Newman

Last week's purchase of *Lester & Ormond Deacon* is only the initial step in what could be an eventual \$250-million injection by Christopher Gedgrave into Canadian book publishing. The Paginaire Corp. president's unique intellectual and entrepreneurial combinations will quickly turn him into a major participant in what has largely been an underfunded and sometimes amateurish Canadian industry.

"I have my soul in the communications area," Gedgrave told me. "My family has been in it on and off for the past 300 years." Gedgrave's brother, Michael, is an award-winning poet and novelist. Christopher continued: "Too many people at the moment are trying to carve themselves niches in publishing while dully undercapitalized. I don't intend to interfere editorially, but the industry badly needs some business savvy, especially in broadening the scope of Canadian publishers internationally."

Gedgrave, who recently sold his share in the Bay Street investment boutique Lasson, Osgathorpe, McCutcheon, has purchased his own office building at 5 King St. W. in Toronto, which he intends eventually to turn into his publishing empire's home office. "I want to be Toronto-based," he said, "and to concentrate on books, or at least print television books, two million books a year, and, besides, I believe it's only in print that you can afford to charge reasonable royalty fees. I would love, for example, to have bought *Star Trek* novels. That could have been a perfect fit with book publishing and I may yet be able to start another publication in that line. It's becoming cheaper to start newspapers and magazines than to purchase existing properties."

Gedgrave, born in Ceylon in 1953 and British-educated, arrived in Canada with \$12 in his pocket in 1983, originally seeking the new-dubbed Montreal magnetite and later spent more than eight years on the business side of *The Financial Post*. He established a tabloid newspaper for the Post is London, Ont., and in 1987 wrote a book about Canadian prime ministers that has since sold more than 500,000 copies.

Having spent four years researching and redrafting the volume, he voluntary it to McMillan and Stewart and Macmillan's is 1987. They each agreed to publish it, offering a \$50 advance plus 30-per-cent royalties. Gedgrave

has doubled nearly every year since, producing a net income of \$40 million for 1987 as revenues of \$100 million.

Gedgrave's activities have long since been expanded into merchant banking, initially through Paginaire Corp. but more recently through a subsidiary, Canadas Express Ltd. He also invested to capture 16 per cent of Hees International Corp., the Brookfield brothers' profitable northeast booking arm, in what was a typically audacious Gedgrave deal. When Don Andrew Poffen, the wealthy South American mining magnate, died in 1982, his estate included 36 per cent of Ediger, which is the personal holding company of Edward and Peter Brookfield.

The investment was potentially profitably but difficult to sell quickly, so he was able to negotiate a \$35-million valuation for \$25 million, then roll it over for \$60 million cash plus three million Hees shares (Although Hees stock was then trading at \$15, its value was less than \$30. But the Brookfields agreed to purchase two million treasury shares of Hees at \$15, which provided Gedgrave with his \$30 million in cash.)

Gedgrave summed up his investment philosophy by explaining that "these [the stocks] are likely to be ripe for purchase partly for speculation. Investors are individuals who bank on the economic, speculative gamble on the ultimate outcome, following an established and predictable pattern." Gedgrave is a naturally entrepreneurial and changeable. He probably had a fairly anxious moment for 1989 but, as a company spokesman after that, based mainly in North America. He points out that the U.S. dollar has fallen by about 40 per cent compared with other hard currencies in the past half decade and that the tide is economic growth is bound to swing back to this conclusion.

Gedgrave is silent on his immediate publishing plans. This month, he planned to sail out of Chester, N.S. He also belongs to the Royal Bermuda Yacht Club and was a member of Canada's 1984 championship Olympic sailing team but he is a die-hard fan of Toronto soccer—and is bound to be an ardent supporter of the new team. "I'm not sure we'll spend the entire quarter of a billion dollars on publishing," he said. "But if we're lucky enough to invest in the right people and the right companies that fit into our corporate psychology, we won't hesitate to put our money behind our convictions."



The Great One becomes a King

Tuesday, Aug. 1, 1986, is a day that few Canadian hockey fans will ever forget—the day the country lost its national hero, Wayne Gretzky, to the United States. Last week, one of the biggest deals in sports history, Edmonton Oilers owner Peter Peckington traded the 27-year-old centre and two other Oilers to the Los Angeles Kings and, in return, got two Kings players, three first-round draft choices over five years—and \$35 million. The announcement touched off a wave of sadness and anger among Oilers fans, thousands of whom called the Oilers' head office and radio stations to protest the move. So did many non-hockey fans, who see Gretzky as a modest and clean-living young man worthy of their respect. But it was an emotional news conference in Edmonton that night, Gretzky and that the trade had been his decision. And he added, "For the benefit of Wayne Gretzky, my new wife and our expected child in the new year, it would be beneficial for everyone involved to let me play with the Los Angeles Kings."

But shortly after, three former Oilers stepped forward and told a different story...that Peckington had forced Gretzky to leave Edmonton. Peckington denied that. He said he had asked Gretzky to continue playing for the Oilers. But late last week, the colorful entrepreneur looked out at his former fans and said, "That Gretzky had faked his tears at the Edmonton news conference. 'Wayne has to go to the site of Manhattan,' said Peckington. "I understand that, though. If people had told me how great I was in and out for 10 years, I sure my ego would be a pretty generous size, too." And, although Gretzky maintained that the trade had been his idea, his new wife, U.S. actress Janet Jones, placed the blame on Peckington. She added, "Wayne wouldn't let Edmonton fans, Canada and most important, his teammates down without good reason. Peckington is the reason Wayne is gone." Later, Peckington issued a statement saying that his remarks about Gretzky's ego had been "taken entirely out of context."

After the announcement of the trade, there was a momentary backlash against Jones, 21, whose home and work are in Los Angeles. One caller to an Edmonton radio show compared Jones to singer Jaka Lassau's widow, Yoko Ono, who was widely blamed by Beatles fans for the break-

up of the group after her marriage. Another asked, "Who wears the pants in that family?" Those comments quickly led Gretzky's best man, former Oilers Ed Mo, to defend Jones publicly. Mo told *Newsweek's* later, "All of Wayne's friends know that he did not want to leave Edmonton. Wayne

At that point, Mo added, Gretzky resigned himself to moving. Said Mo: "He was finally forced into saying, 'Okay Peter, let's get the deal done.'" Mo also said that, as part of the deal, Mo told Gretzky's later, "All of Wayne's friends know that he did not want to leave Edmonton. Wayne



Wayne Gretzky at a news conference: *anxious and angry*

leaves Canada. Wayne leaves Edmonton."

Mo said that after the Oilers won the Stanley Cup over the Boston Bruins on May 26, Gretzky surprised that Peckington was trying to trade him. He added that it was early July, shortly before what was widely billed as "the royal wedding." Gretzky confronted Peckington, who reassured him that there was no truth to the rumors. According to Mo, a week after the wedding, Gretzky received a call from a team owner (it was the Kings' Bruce McNaull), who told the player that he had received permission from the Oilers to talk to Gretzky about a trade

1983 and the Stanley Cup in a \$15-million salary until 1986 and possibly a share in any increases in the team's gate receipts, subject to negotiations. Along with Gretzky—who has set numerous scoring records over his 11-season National Hockey League career, has eight consecutive most-valuable-player awards and led the Oilers to Stanley Cup victory four times—the Kings got Oilers defenceman Marty McSorley and centre Mike Krushelnyski. After marking the biggest deal in NHL history off, McNaull said, "I've got to do something radical to sell hockey to

L.A., and there's no name in hockey like Wayne Gretzky."

If Gretzky had played out his contract with the Oilers—which was set to expire after the 1981-1982 season—he would have become a free agent and the longer Peckington had waited to sell Gretzky, the more money the Oilers would have received. Last year, the Kings made off with L.A. and five times out of 40 Average attendance was 11,982 per game, resulting 12,829 in their peak year of 1984-1985. But by the end of last year, the team had received more than 4,800 requests for season's tickets—compared with the

already. Edmonton's loss has been Los Angeles' gain. Both cities' arenas were almost constantly busy last week—but in Edmonton, the seats were few. Damaged Oilers fans wanting to cancel their season's tickets in L.A. were met with a "last, last" line. The Kings sold out. The Kings' 1985-1986 attendance—\$1.2 million—was the franchise's first non-strike year.

When the Kings opened on Dec. 30, 1985, twelve weeks later, Coates

had given the Washington Redskins \$1 million to the franchise's non-strike speedster DeJere Sims, who was sole owner until 1986, when McNaull started to lay into the team. Over the next two years, McNaull spent \$8 million to get 500-per-game ownership of the franchise, which he obtained in March 1988. New board chairman of own dealer North American Fine Arts Inc., McNaull, 28, is also owner of a horse stable and board chairman of a movie company. Still, although he secured a place for himself in NHL history last week, even Gretzky may not be able to turn around the fortunes of his team.

But one man who says that he is certain Gretzky can do just that is his dad, Walter—who added that he has now become the Kings' No. 1 fan. And like other Canadian hockey enthusiasts, the elder Gretzky said that he was disappointed to see his son leave Edmonton. "After 18 years, it was his home," said Walter Gretzky, adding, "Drew [Lunday, former Oiler, summered it up right. He

said, 'Edmonton with Wayne is just another city in the West.' He added that glances to it. It's just not the same."

On March 28, 1986, Peter Peckington said of Gretzky, "There's no price greater than the price of a legend. They'd have my head if I sold him." And what Peckington's actual reasons were for ultimately taking U.S. citizens and setting off one of the most controversial and sensational sports deals of the century—may never be known. Shortly after his weird statement on his banner was last week, Peckington went on a fishing trip in the Arctic and did not plan to return for a week. But one thing is certain, at the Kings' first exhibition game in The Forum—scheduled for Sept. 26—it will be standing room only.



Janet Jones and Peter Peckington (below) have blood



total owner's yearly average of 10.6 for the Kings, the trade is a good short-term gain, according to Quinn, and the club is taking the risk of setting off its future to save the franchise now. "It's a short-sighted city," said Quinn. "Gretzky will have an effect on their taxes and it can make them wealthier, than it's going to be a tremendous loss. I think they'll bring more people into these buildings—perhaps even sell it out—because of Gretzky."

And in the city of perpetual winter, that is clearly the effect that McNaull is hoping Gretzky will have. Hockey in Los Angeles falls below basketball, baseball and football in popularity, and the Kings franchise is the only one that routinely fails to fill the 16,000-seat Forum. And in terms of ability, the furthest the team has ever gone was in 1982, when the Kings beat the Oilers in the first round of play-offs, only to lose the next round.

—NORIA UNDERWOOD was *Newsweek's* Arctic Bureau chief in 1984-1985. ALICE DUVETTE and ROBERT FLORES is in Edmonton and ANNE GIBSON is in Los Angeles.

Sport and salesmanship

It was a devastating year for Peter Pocklington, the controversial and flamboyant Edmonton businessman. In 1983, with the Alberta economy in a deep recession, leaders put Pocklington's oil company and car dealership into receivership while federal regulators took control of his financially troubled fidelity Trust Co. As well, Pocklington's bid for the leadership of the federal Progressive Conservative party failed miserably. But since then, when money borrowed largely from the previously owned Treasury Building, he has quietly rebuilt his empire to acquire five oil-processing plants in the United States and Quebec, as well as Canadian oil companies Polar, Daniels Ltd., and other trading expertise. Wayne Gretzky, the Edmonton Oilers' star, and the Los Angeles Kings last week, Pocklington was once again involved in controversy. Arthur's opponents charged that Pocklington had pledged Gretzky's contract in collateral on a business loan and they questioned whether he was entitled to trade the superstar freely.

After Gretzky announced the blockbuster trade, on Aug. 5, new revelations about Pocklington's role in the deal emerged daily. Arthur Griffiths, the governor of the Vancouver Canada and son of owner Frank Griffiths, told Maclean's that Vancouver businessman Nelson Stubbins had acted as a middleman in negotiations between Pocklington and the Griffiths family in an attempt to forge a trade of Gretzky to the Canucks. Griffiths added that his family rejected it as too costly. And Alberta opposition politicians continued to claim that David Getty's Conservative government should block the trade unless Pocklington replaced Gretzky's contract with cash or assets of equal value as part of the collateral on his loan of about \$42 million from the government. Meanwhile, on Aug. 11, a spokesman for the entrepreneur said that he had left Edmonton to fish in the Arctic fishing cap.

Although rumors of a Gretzky trade only surfaced in the media within the past two weeks, the negotiations actually began last February, when Stubbins approached Griffiths about making for

the superstar. Griffiths said that he phoned Pocklington, who confirmed that Gretzky was available. Stubbins then began negotiating with Pocklington and eventually went to the Griffiths family with a deal that would have cost them 25 per cent of the franchise, about \$15 million in cash and several players and future draft choices. Griffiths said he later discovered that Vancouver billionaire Jim Pattison had agreed to contribute up to \$7 million in order to



Gretzky and Pocklington in happier times: buying, selling

manager and coach Glen Sather as collateral against a \$25-million loan from the now-defunct Canadian Commercial Bank, which was based in Edmonton. The government later took it over and amalgamated it with two other loans for the \$42-million total.

In a CBC Radio interview last week, Pocklington said that the Treasury Building had released Gretzky's contract from the security package on the loans about three years ago. That same day, Alberta New Democrat Leader Raymond Martin held a news conference that records kept by the provincial government's department of consumer and corporate affairs still list the Gretzky contract as collateral against the loans. Martin added that the government should block the trade unless Pocklington replaces Gretzky with other assets.

Pocklington has made a career of buying, selling and negotiating. Now 48 and a native of London, Ont., he is reported to have displayed an entrepreneurial streak as a preschooler by selling cherries to neighbors and, as a teenager, by selling the family's Cadillac for \$2,800 and a 1966 Plymouth. He was a high-school dropout at 17 and, by 21, he was running his own Ford dealership in southwestern Ontario.

In 1971, he moved to Edmonton to take over another Ford sales operation. Within a decade, he had put together an empire that included coal assets, car and dealership, a truck company, two meat-packing companies, soccer, hockey and baseball franchises and an oil and gas company.

The recession of the early 1980s reduced his holdings to Gainer Inc., the Edmonton-based meat-packing company, the Oilers and the Edmonton Trappers, a minor-league baseball team affiliated with the California Angels. Because his assets are all held by private companies, Pocklington does not publish sales figures or profit-and-loss statements. But one Edmonton businessman, who has often dealt with him and said that he doubts Pocklington was under any financial pressure to sell Gretzky, noted, "Indeed, Canada's governor Griffiths said that Pocklington treated Gretzky like any other asset that could be sold singly for a monetary gain—and to acquire more assets."

—DARCY JONES with KERRY DUNN in Edmonton

laid partial ownership of the Canucks and marketing rights to Gretzky's endorsement. The deal also would have given Gretzky a share of the team. Griffiths said that Gretzky was prepared to accept the arrangement if he became a part owner of the team. But Griffiths said that his family preferred not to relinquish any part of the Canucks.

Because millions of hockey fans follow Gretzky, Pocklington was able to use him for years to further his commercial ambitions. In December, 1988, the businessman pledged his corporate with Gretzky and 24 other players, as well as the contract of Oilers president, general

PEOPLE

For former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, international recognition is more than just lying around in the sun. It's a well-spent time that month trekking through the icy landscape of Greenland, getting in shape for a three-week October mountain-biking expedition in the Himalayas. The visit to India will also provide Trudeau with another chance to play international statesman. On the eve of the journey, he and 13 other Canadians, including tour organizer Laurent Bessette—in 1982, he was the first Canadian to climb Mount Everest—will dine with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Secretary of Trudeau's station. There are no rehearsals on that gap."

A according to an ancient Chinese belief, that eight is a lucky number. Bessette's newest prince entered the world in a most auspicious way. The first child of Andrew and Sarah, the Duke and Duchess of York, born 26, was born shortly after 8 p.m. on the eighth day of the eighth month of 1988. She weighed six pounds 13 ounces. Four days later, the baby—fifth in line to the throne—and her mother left London's University-appointed Portland Hospital, where a private room costs \$125 a day. Queen Elizabeth II, who was en route to Scotland at the time of the birth, is to see her fifth grandchild this week, but a palace spokesman reported that "all

members of the Royal Family are very pleased with the news."

George arrived in a party似 mood for Pierre Berton, 68, when wear emergency survival suits—and provide the names of next of kin. Otherwise, they will not be allowed to attend the most spectacular of a series of launches for Burton's 34th book, *The Arctic Great*—a history of Far North exploration—an oil rig in the Beaufort Sea. While the popular historian acknowledges that the Arctic still challenges its inhabitants, he says that oil rigs are far better off than the first explorers. Says Burton: "They get down by helicopter and they get down out. The explorers were stuck in ice-covered drifts all winter with nothing to do but sit in the dark. There's a hell of a difference."

Two years ago, Quebec playwright Georges Gosselin, now 78, wrote the *Passion of Nicodemus*. He went to play the title role—a plumber who begins courting an old fellow on the day of his husband's funeral. His real-life spouse, actress Marguerite Chapman, portrayed the desolate wife. Last week, the couple re-created their roles speaking

the other official language as the romantic comedy was given an English-language run in North Bay, Ont. After playing Mendon more than 160 times in French, Gosselin acknowledged that translating an English version was intimidating. Said Gosselin, "It felt like a boxer stepping into the ring once again, not wanting to get knocked out."

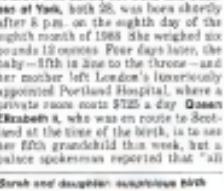
Sade's return is a mixed blessing for Nigerian-born pop star Sade, 28. Her 1984 album, *Diamond Life*, sold more than 10 million copies, and her elegant, exotic looks landed her on several magazine covers. But the singer had difficulty handling media attention and, in 1986, announced that she had decided to "go to ground." Now, she is in the bright spotlight with a new album, *Sirens*, and a North American tour that includes four Canadian cities. In keeping with past practice, Sade is playing intimate audiences. Said Valerie Leop, media manager for CBS Records Canada Ltd., "Sade is the type of performer who concentrates totally on her music."

The voice of Rita Penning is alive and well and singing in Ohio. Although Aug. 16 marks the 10th anniversary of the rock legend's drug-related death at 43, her estate rolls on, at least a day at a time. Last month, the former country-music beauty became the first station to adopt an all-night Rita Penning format. Programming features the entire that still songs recorded by Penning, interviews with those who knew her and tribute sessions about The King. Penning director Steve Parsons, who said that the station needed to be all stuck up, adds that advertising revenues have increased dramatically. Explains Parsons: "Rita is an important part of a lot of people's lives."

—PAMELA YOUNG with correspondence/reports



Sade strutting her self-imposed tune to deaf the limelight again



Rita and daughter: musicals birth



Rita: survivor suits

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The Prime Minister and the media

By George Bain

The town of Comox, one-third the way up the east coast of Vancouver Island from Victoria, holds an annual four-day midsummer festival called Nautical Days, at the end of July and beginning of August. This year, on the holding Monday, Aug. 1, the guests of honour were Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his family. A space was set aside from which the visitors could watch the parade. The Prime Minister's media advisers could be seen at the thought of pictures that night on home screens across the country showing their short-to-be campaigner enjoying a relaxed summer sojourn among happy crowds in an attractive setting.

A media event, then, calculatedly arranged for the purpose of gaining low-key publicity for the coming election. Or simply a public appearance of the sort that prime ministers have an obligation to accept because the people, from time to time, have a right to see in person, and to hear from, the leader of their government? Both—with the slight balance of truth probably to the former.

But it seems that several local media people say that about right are that there were 3,000 to 4,000 people out for the festivities when the Mulreneys were there. One reporter, who was situated near where the Mulreneys were seated, says that there were about a dozen sign-carrying young people—some quite young teenagers—positioned there in advance and about another dozen older protesters who carried anti-free trade signs and became more active in seeking the attention of the cameras. In total, then, 35 or 40 protesters in a crowd at least 3,000 times as large.

The first I heard of the Mulreneys' visit to Nautical Days in Comox, except what I had seen on television and read in the newspapers, was that a local television reporter had told someone who sold tickets, who told me, that one of the demonstrators, when asked where he got his placard, and it was at Robert Shelly's headquarters. Shelly is a senior B.C. New Democrat, in this election running his brother Raymond Shelly, already an MP, in contested one of what are now two Comox-area seats.

Robert Shelly didn't deny to me by phone that he or any of his workers had handed out placards to anyone or that

he had organized the demonstrators, although he acknowledged readily enough that some, probably most, of the demonstrators were New Democrats—and why not? There was no mystery about the 800's being totally opposed to the free trade agreement, which the demonstrators mainly was about.

A local newspaper reporter, again by phone, and that he overheard a cmc French national news television reporter, whose name he did not know, say in the wrap-up to his piece that the protest was organized by the NDP. Eventually tracked down, the reporter, Georges Tremblay, said he had not said that, although he did comment on the organized opposition that Brian Mulroney could expect anywhere in British Columbia. From the closely aligned NDP and labor unions.

Another local reporter, this one on radio, said that the protesters he got

Comox demonstrated that raising a stink works—not just on TV but in print, which more and more mindlessly follows

was that the outside media had come to Nautical Days looking for conflict. The way he put it was, "That's what everybody wanted. You know, 'Mulroney is here here and free trade is not wanted.' That sort of thing." He added that, watching television news that night, he was surprised to hear that the Prime Minister had been unable to avoid protesters because he himself had been able to get to McMillan's at the last minute across the street, and "if he was unable to avoid the protesters, they would have been there as well." Evidently, however, there were more signs and shouting at the nearby airport when Mulroney left.

The general impression of the several local media people I talked with was that, if not by the 800, the demonstrators certainly were for the NDP—and that it was organized.

At the other end of the country the next day—and no doubt in newspapers across the country in roughly similar terms—the Halifax Chronicle-Herald declined in an ex-colonial farce across a main national news page "Mulroney unable to avoid anti-free trade demonstrators" "Newspapers on national tele-

vision the night before had featured the same plane-waving demonstrators.

Beneath the heading, the Canadian Press (cp) story from Comox said "Try as he might, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney couldn't avoid anti-free trade demonstrators at a parade here Monday. When he arrived at his spot to watch the Nautical Days parade, he was greeted by about 300 people waving placards reading 'Stop the deal,' 'Let Canadians decide' and 'Tax the rich'." "Tell us about the free trade deal," one man shouted. "Mulroney, tell us about the selling."

The Prime Minister turned his back and worked his way into a familiar crowd. That didn't stop Mark Salter, who got past security long enough to ask Mulroney to sign and his stop-the-deal sign. But "he didn't say anything," Salter said later. "All he goes was 'Good evening.' And they wouldn't autograph it either."

A true picture? In narrow focus, yes. The protesters (although, by local count, fewer than cp estimated) were there, so were the placards and the shouts. And, true, the Mulreneys had been relegated to other seats to get away from the signs being waved in their faces.

But in a broader sense, no what was reported, both on TV and in print, what had been added by the theatre staged for us, was a distortion of the larger reality. The Prime Minister had spoken only a few words at Comox, but, as reported, the first words spoken at all, except by the protesters, appeared in paragraph 16.

Douglas Fisher's always astute column in *The Chronicle-Sun*, on Aug. 3, was headed "Trivial days as the free"—a reference to the campaign ahead and the postscript that Brian Mulroney, and to a lesser extent John Turner, faces. This will be at the hands of a media corps seemingly bent on giving Edward Broadbent what Fisher terms "an angle free ride," and from union leaders who "have rarely been persuasive negotiators or friendly managers through television exposure" but who have learned to orchestrate street and hall meetings that "have a fine, fine, fine and most fine" *National*. Fisher wrote that countermeasures might be needed.

What Comox demonstrated, not for the first time, is that raising a stink works—and not just on TV but in print, which more and more mindlessly follows.



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John Allen as Verna Tucker; Bridges' rocket-ship car and a Cyclops eye

FILMS

Recalling the dream car

TUCKER: THE MAN AND HIS DREAM
Directed by Francis Ford Coppola

In 1947, when Francis Ford Coppola was 8, his father took him to see an extraordinary new car called the Tucker. Torpedo 8. It had rocket-ship curves and a Cyclops eye—a centre headlight that swivelled with the steering wheel. Created by masterrock inventor Preston Tucker, it had a unique front suspension, disc brakes, a water-cooled engine, 8-gauge dashboards, and a belt. But federal authorities, headed by Detroit's Big Three automakers, charged Tucker with antitrust violations in 1948. Although he was later acquitted, the scandal drove him to bankruptcy, and his factory was forced to close after manufacturing just 50 cars. Coppola's father, Charlie, had invested \$200 in the company—and ordered a Tucker Torpedo. To the disappointment of young Francis, it was never delivered. Now, Coppola has turned that memory into a cinematic fable so sleek and fatalistic as the car his father never owned.

Tucker: The Man and His Dream is, in fact, a tale of two dreamers: Preston Tucker and Francis Coppola. The parallels between their careers are too obvious to ignore: Just as the carmaker lived to oversee Detroit's Big Three, the film-maker tried to build a dream fac-

tory beyond the bounds of Hollywood's studio system. And, like Tucker, Coppola has often been overwhelmed by his vision. His 1971 epic, *Apostrophe*, was a surreal excursion into the Vietnam War, went wildly over budget, costing Coppola a nervous breakdown and \$20 million of his own. The movie turned out to be a hit, but his 1980 gamble, *The Pinup*, failed miserably. Last year's low-budget, bombastic *Law & Order* was another flop. But it's hardly that it detracts from Coppola's lasting vision. *Tucker* has had a place in the Hollywood pantheon since its arrival.

Given his name, Coppola deserves of *Hearing the Tucker song*. After buying the rights to the story in 1976, he conceived of it as a complex musical about the spirit of American invention. But with *Apocalypse's* crash, Tucker ran into a roadblock. And, as other studio was ready to back a \$30-million remake about a failed carmaker, Coppola finally turned to a former protégé, producer George Lucas (*Star Wars*), who insisted on an upbeat, Disneyesque approach.

"He wanted to candy-apple it up a bit," said Coppola, confessing his reservations about the final product. "It's a good movie," he added. "It's energetic, a little wacky—like the Tucker car—but it's not the movie I would have made at the height of my power."

The movie's breathless style mimics the automobile's impatient curves. The film even begins as a mock advertise-

ment for the car (Jeff Bridges' *Bridge*) portraits Tucker as an avaricious, flagrant, free-swinging scoundrel. In his first scene, he shows up at his country house with a dozen cedarmats in tow. "I traded the Packard for them," he announces, then piles his family into a bubble-tapped armored car parked in the driveway—a Tucker prototype from the Second World War. Singing *Tucker* Big, they speed out toward the ocean with a police car on their tail.

The movie paints a nostalgic picture of postwar America, an innocent world where teenagers are happy to play Monopoly and drink tall glasses of milk. Tucker personifies the notion that, thanks to free enterprise, anything is possible. He teams up with an insecure entrepreneur named Abe Karatz (Martin Landau), who sells Tucker dealerships and helps make the car a household word even before it leaves off the assembly line. Meanwhile, Tucker's loyal crew of technicians works miracles with scrap metal to assemble the prototypes.

The supporting cast—which includes Canadian actor Elias Koteas—is wonderful, but Tucker's character is so stylized that he seems less real than the cars. Indeed, Coppola rarely lets the audience forget that it is watching a movie. His images are cluttered with cameras, sound equipment, and Tucker's own infatuation with his craft. In one scene, two characters talk by telephone from different cities; the camera cuts to the partition dividing the two sets. And Tucker's final courtroom speech is leaden with some highly unlikely clairvoyance: "We're subjugating everything we fought for," he says. "We're going to find ourselves at the bottom of the heap, buying our modest and our stars [from the Japanese]."

Although Coppola's self-indulgence is never boring, it is distracting. By trying to match Tucker's exuberant style in his own direction, Coppola does a disservice to the story. The simple facts of Tucker's rise and fall, dark with political intrigues, are overshadowed by a parable of individual exuberance versus corporate evil. With *Tucker*, Coppola has provided a showroom glimpse of a vintage drama. But the movie leaves the audience longing to know what is under the hood.

—BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Insights and delights

It's season for certain great dramas—Shakespeare's *King Lear* and Sophocles's *Oedipus* among them—to be performed by younger actors. Those tragedies contain a sobering beauty and depth of insight that usually take a great deal of time and experience to appreciate. Despite that, Sohie Phillips, director of the Stratford Festival's Young Company, has given both Lear and Oedipus to her youthful charges as part of their summer season. And many of the actors—the majority of them in their 20s—triumph over the challenge. Their excellent work on the two plays (and on the 20th-century satire *The Critic*, which is double-billed with Oedipus) serves up some stiff competition for the northern Ontario festival's regular company, which recently added *The Three Musketeers* and the 1856 musical *Irma La Douce* to Stratford's 2008 season.

The Young Company has not been left entirely out with the more serious challenge of Lear. Phillips has given the title role to Stratford's great veteran William Hart, who delivers a performance of intelligence and passion to detail. Rather than playing Lear as the usual blearily regal tyrant, Hart leads the old man with a frankness from which his sermons strike unexpectedly. Like the pathetic start of a dying animal, No one else in the cast can match Hart's performance, but Marlene Adler and Bessie Coyne (as his daughters Goneril and Regan) and Peter Donaldson (as his loyal noble, Kent) lead a production that consistently alters the joy of hearing Shakespeare's greatest drama delivered with thoughtful clarity.

For all its attractiveness, Stratford's current Lear is flawed by artificialness and voices untempered by time. The main reason is evident in Oedipus, the fifth-century-BC tragedy about a king who sets out to free his city from a curse—only to discover that he himself is its cause. The production sometimes gives the impression of strangeness for profundity, but it possesses an overabundance of



Russell, Pepe, Davies, Kennedy, and a Paris prostitute

and choreography, Stratford's kitchen beauty and Wentworth's low-key giddiness, Irma La Douce is a delight.

Only a fraction less successful is *The Three Musketeers*, the frothy melodrama extracted from Alexandre Dumas's 1844 novel by Peter Hall and directed by Richard Gunston. There are, of course, seriously fun musketeers, including the innocent D'Artagnan (Gerrard Wynn Davies), the sapphophobe Portos (Stephen Bassett), the romantic Aramis (Loren Kennedy) and the melancholy Athos (John Prouse). adept at defeating other overridders, they keep more trouble with their arch-enemy, Milady de Winter (Gabbie Sykes), a woman so preposterously evil that it would not be surprising if she grew flags. Musketeers is about as superficial as drama can get without exposing that between it and the Young Company's *King Lear*, this year's Stratford Festival has something for everyone, whether the sun is a temporary escape from filth or a free fall into its deeper mysteries.

—JOHN BROWNE

MCLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Alison, Mother!* (U)
- 2 *Zoya, Sweet Oil*
- 3 *The Inverse Agenda*, Lethem (U)
- 4 *To the Last*, Rosenthal (U)
- 5 *The Content of the Krafts*, Clegg (U)
- 6 *Rock Star*, Coffey (U)
- 7 *The Taming Kinckneys*, King (U)
- 8 *Bill We Were Angels*, Rovato
- 9 *Prelude to Penitence*, Amner (U)
- 10 *People Like Us*, Doerr (U)

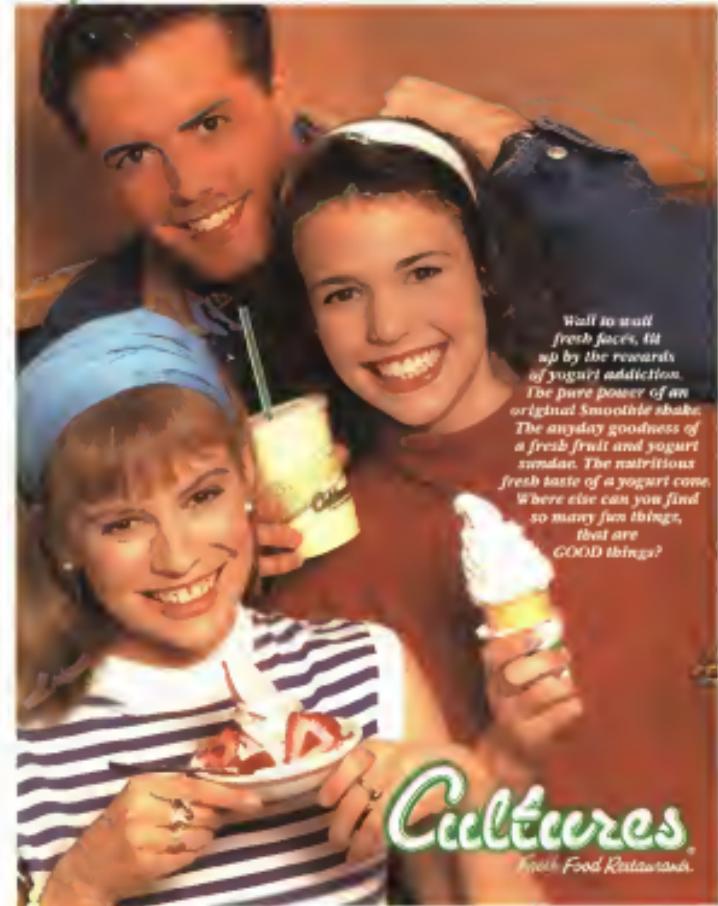
NONFICTION

- 1 *Baking Straight*, Johnson (U)
- 2 *A Brief History of Time*, Hawking (U)
- 3 *Trump: The Art of the Deal*, Trump (U)
- 4 *Swim with the Sharks*, Wilson (U)
- 5 *James Alcock: Magician* (U)
- 6 *Daughters of Windsor*, Wright (U)
- 7 *Madame Tussaud*, Jackson (U)
- 8 *Thriving on Chaos*, Peters (U)
- 9 *The Natural History of Canada*, Lawrence (U)
- 10 *Robert Kennedy in His Own Words*, edited by Gorkin and Shulman (U)
- 11 *Flame-Cracker and Destroyer*, Higgins

12 *Portions that need*

—Contributed by Diane Fraser

Life in the FRESH LANE.



Wash to wash
fresh faces. All
up by the rewards
of yogurt addiction.

The pure power of an
original Smoothie shake.
The everyday goodness of
a fresh fruit and yogurt
smoothie. The nutritious
fresh taste of a yogurt cone.

Where else can you find
so many things, that are
GOOD things?

GOOD things?

Cultures
Fresh Food Restaurant

Australian cultural imperialism?

By Allan Fotheringham

This falls under the category, one supposes, of biting the fingers that feed you. It is supposedly one of the most despicable acts of human nature. Personally, I feel there are so many despicable acts in mankind that one must inevitably sometimes turn at for me. I can resist anything but temptation. Or, to put it another way, there are Ten Commandments—seven only to be observed. The sin this time is to put the knock on a chap who supplies part of my paycheque. The devil makes us do it.

For years, I have watched Rupert Murdoch from afar, understanding the best distance. He is Australian, which is a handicap from birth. He has, however, striven to overcome this blemish and has been gradually buying up the world. I have resisted the impulse, so far, to slip him on the wrist and cry *desist*. Unfortunately, he has gone far this time and it is only appropriate to move on him. He is a threat, to the end to me. His latest caper—the largest deal yet in the communications industry—goes beyond the bounds. We've got to do something about the boy.

Murdoch controls an outfit that owns a fair hunk of one of my employers. The way he's going, he's going to own everything. The newest outrage is that he has purchased for the billion-dollar something called Triangulation Inc. from Walter Aspinwall, the son of when Paul Getty estate B. Ratner spends every Christmas in a sign as the gods command: "Intruder will be shot". Triangulation expresses three of the most dangerous propensities in the realm of thinking: TV God, which happens to have the largest circulation of any magazine in North America; *Seventeen*, the teenage escape from sex; and the *Daily Racing Form*, the bible for duffers who do not like to face reality.

This goes further toward Murdoch's plan for a global communications company that would be a single outlet for international advertising. Is this why

max was put on Earth? Is this really progress, as we measure it?

Murdoch is invincible. His newspapers control 60 per cent of the market in Australia, more than a third of the market in Britain—including *The Times* of London and *The Sunday Times* as well as the *Telegraph*? He's got 'em home page breakthroughs.

Murdoch has a major stake in Britain's international news service. He owns 70 per cent and cable operations in both the United States and Europe. He now

owns 25th Century-Fox, not to mention Harper & Row, the prestigious New York publishing house he is the major shareholder in Pearson PLC, owner of *The Financial Times* of London, which has a piece of the *Financial Post* of Toronto.

What is enough enough? It's always seemed me. When I was younger, 150 years ago, I had the choice of living in London or either starving to death or changing for a strange with a sheet called *Commons*. You can buy a chap who is now Lord Eltham for a million, who is known as Ken Thomas of Toronto. Not only before a great fan of *Star Trek*. I researched in the office of bread and gruel.

Lord Eltham actually appeared one day, striking up a sky-high career and embarrassed inheritor of his grasping father's ambition. His demeanor makes no difference. The *Financial Times*, for some inexplicable reason, publishes yet more nonstopverging-on-cynical all over North America each year, emphasizing the same bland, mean



SAVOUR THE MOMENT



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Average per cigarette: Craven A King Size Tar 12 mg Nic 1.0 mg Regular Tar 3 mg Nic 0.6 mg
Craven A Light King Size Tar 10 mg Nic 1.0 mg Regular Tar 2 mg Nic 0.6 mg

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